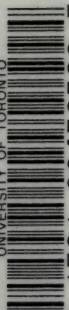


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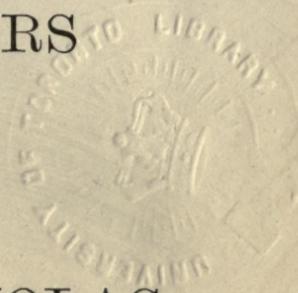


THE NICHOLAS PAPERS (Vol. IV)



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NICHOLAS PAPERS



CORRESPONDENCE  
OF  
SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS  
SECRETARY OF STATE

EDITED FOR THE ROYAL HISTORICAL SOCIETY

BY

SIR GEORGE F. WARNER, D.LITT., F.B.A.

VOL. IV.

1657—1660

CAMDEN, THIRD SERIES, VOL. XXXI

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*Note.*—FOR VOLS. I-III, see CAMDEN N. S. VOLS. XL, L, LVII.

## PREFACE.

THREE volumes of *The Nicholas Papers*, containing a selection from the correspondence of Sir Edward Nicholas from the date of his appointment as Secretary of State to Charles I. in 1641 down to the end of 1656, when he was with Charles II. in exile, have already been printed for the Camden Society, now amalgamated with the Royal Historical Society.<sup>a</sup> In the present volume the correspondence is continued down to the Restoration, with some additional letters, mostly relating to Thomas Scot the regicide, the latest of which is dated 19 November, 1660. As in the previous volumes, the contents are selected solely from materials in the British Museum, including, besides the large collection of original Nicholas Papers in Egerton MSS. 2533-62, the brief extracts made from Sir Edward's letter-books by Dr. Thomas Birch in 1750-51 and contained in Additional MS. 4180. Unfortunately the letter-books themselves, which have disappeared since Birch's time, have not yet again come to light, and the extracts from them do not extend beyond 1658. A few, however, of Nicholas's own letters of later date are printed from his drafts, which are not only very roughly scrawled but are partly in a shorthand sometimes very difficult to read.<sup>b</sup> Other letters, both to and from him, during the period covered are preserved in the Public Record Office, but as careful abstracts of them are given

<sup>a</sup> Vol. i. (1886), 1641-1652; vol. ii. (1892), 1653-June, 1655; vol. iii. (1897), July, 1655-1656.

<sup>b</sup> In the *Calendar of State Papers*, 1659-60, p. 263, the system used is said to be that of Thomas Shelton (1620), but many of the forms appear to be different.

in the *Calendar of State Papers*, it was not thought necessary to include them here.

Apart from letters omitted as being of insufficient interest, many have evidently been lost, and breaks in continuity are only too frequent. Thus the correspondence of 1657 only extends as far as p. 33, and mostly consists of Birch's extracts from letters of Nicholas himself to various correspondents or of letters addressed to him by his intimate friend the Marquis of Ormonde. Towards the end of the year, however, there are two letters from Charles II. to Prince Rupert and the Elector of Mainz warning them against the traitor and spy Colonel Bampffield (p. 18), and several others from Percy Church with Paris and London news, from Sir Henry de Vic at Brussels, and from John Ball at Hamburg on the war between Sweden and Denmark and Cromwell's efforts to bring about a peace. Nicholas at this time was residing at Bruges, where he joined the King soon after his removal thither from Cologne in April, 1656. Although he had ceased to be actual Secretary of State on the surrender of Oxford in 1646, when he went into exile, he retained the title until the death of Charles I., and in August or September, 1654, while Charles II. was at Aix,<sup>a</sup> he was reappointed to the same office, the duties of which in the interval had been discharged by Hyde, Chancellor of the Exchequer. At the same time, although, as his correspondence and papers show, he was kept busily employed,<sup>b</sup> he complains (p. 12) that he was not treated with full confidence, and probably he exercised little real influence on the policy of the exiled court, which from first to last was mainly controlled by Hyde. He was also wretchedly poor. By his own account he was "worse dealt with in point of payment" of his expenses and allowance "than any servant his Majesty hath," and when his mother died in March, 1657, he could not afford to buy mourning for his wife and sons, though he

<sup>a</sup> See his autobiographical notes in vol. i. p. xvii, and vol. ii. p. 88.

<sup>b</sup> A list of persons to whom he wrote from 14 January, 1650, to 22 March, 1669, but with a break between Dec. 1655 and 17 Jan. 1660, is in Egerton MS. 2556.

“made shift” to get a suit for himself (p. 4). The King’s own necessities, indeed, were almost equally great. In March Nicholas never knew him “in greater want than he is, not having had wherewith to pay his domestic servants these eighteen months” (p. 2); and in writing to Sir Henry Bennet, Royalist agent in Madrid, on 15 April he points out the injury done to the King of Spain’s reputation by his neglect to fulfil his promises of pecuniary aid (p. 4). From a paper printed in the Appendix (p. 264) it appears that the “assistance” given to Charles from Spain, beginning in August, 1656, was at the rate of 7500 florins a month. For the first four months this sum was paid regularly, and in addition the full amount for the first quarter of 1657 was advanced in the previous October in order to discharge the King’s debts at Cologne. On the other hand, during the whole of 1657 the only payment made was that for December, 1656, which was delayed until March; and although the arrears for April, 1657 to February, 1658 were paid off, together with a surplus of 2500 florins, between January and September, 1658, after this payments again ceased, so that on 30 November, 1658, when the statement was drawn up, no less than 65,000 florins were still due. But it is clear that this “ordinary allowance,” as it is also called (p. 34), was not all that Charles had reason to expect. In April, 1657, when none of it was yet in arrear, he was at Brussels, attended by Ormonde, pressing Don John, Governor of the Netherlands, for money long since promised, as well as for support towards his projected invasion of England (p. 5). Both the King of Spain and his ministers expressed “very much passion” for his restoration, and by a treaty signed on 12 April even engaged to furnish him with 4000 foot and 2000 horse, but more than this they could not or would not do. As Ormonde remarks, they might plead their own desperate straits owing to the cost of the war with France and England, and probably they were also more anxious to utilize both their own troops and the regiments raised by Charles in the defence of Flanders than to risk them in a precarious venture across the Channel.

That there was some "underhand dealing" between the King of Spain and Cromwell, as alleged by Major Wildman the Leveller (p. 16), was almost certainly untrue. Whatever the reason, the money was not forthcoming, and at the end of September Ormonde never remembered the King and those dependent on him to be "in so miserable a condition" (p. 15). Nicholas for his part was inclined to lay some of the blame on Charles himself, on the ground that his lack of majesty and "familiarity with persons of so much inferior quality" offended the punctilious Spaniards and accounted for their disesteem and neglect of him (p. 13). In the same censorious mood he writes a little later, "We are not sensible enough of our afflictions, but endeavour to spend our days in pleasure while the hand of God is on us, which prolongs our punishment" (p. 15). The fortunes of the Royalist Party were in fact at this time at a very low ebb. According to Ormonde the war between England and Spain was "the only visible foundation we have to build upon" (p. 6). Their hopes of advantage from it, however, proved abortive, while Cromwell's power at home was so firmly established that Nicholas despaired of anything being done "until that villain shall be knockt in the head" (p. 13). His advice to the King therefore was that a good price should be set not only on the Protector's head but on the heads of all the chief commanders in Ireland and Scotland, declaring that all objections he had ever heard were "rather fond fancies, by which we are too much led, than solid reasons".<sup>a</sup> This was too much for Hyde, who rebuked him sharply in his reply, though less, as it seems, for the nature of his advice, with which he himself agreed, than for imputing folly not only to those who dissented from it but to those who were responsible for the management of the King's affairs. Notwithstanding the difficulties in the way of an invasion some were still confident that the attempt would be made (p. 34), and in January, 1658, under pretence of going to Germany to levy troops (p. 33),

<sup>a</sup>In 1656 he had refused to submit a proposal for Cromwell's assassination to the King, though he himself approved it (vol. iii. pp. xx, 265, 270).

Ormonde made his way secretly into England to concert measures with the King's adherents. As Nicholas had foreseen, it was a "desperate adventure to no purpose," for the plot was discovered, and on Ormonde's hasty return a month later he barely escaped arrest. Others who were involved were less fortunate, and the fate of Sir Henry Slingsby and Dr. John Hewett in particular is the subject of bitter comment in the correspondence. "Cromwell hath gotten nothing by their execution, the men being of such reputation and virtue," was Joseph Jane's opinion in a letter of 26 June (p. 52); and again, on 3 July, he writes, "I believe Cromwell must necessarily grow more odious by these executions, the persons being of such condition" (p. 63). Three months later (p. 68) Nicholas received news of Jane's own death, and his shrewd and sensible letters, some of which appear in all four volumes of the correspondence, thus came to an end.

Meanwhile Cromwell's treaty with Mazarin, by which he undertook to provide 6000 English troops for operations against Spain in Flanders, was being carried into effect. According to Nicholas it was abhorred by the French nation (p. 19), but when Mardyke was taken by Turenne on 2 October, 1657, it was at once made over, as had been stipulated, to an English garrison. On 1 November Ormonde writes from Dunkirk (p. 17) that they had worked so hard in strengthening its defences that it was resolved to interrupt them that night. The Spanish attack, however, in which he took part, was vigorously repulsed. With so much evidence of co-operation before him, it is strange to find De Vic writing from Brussels on 18 December that he saw "few signs of that understanding between the French and Cromwell which the world imagines" (p. 27). Nicholas was under no such illusion, but he saw that the Cardinal had merely made the league for the advantage it gave him in the war with Spain, "which without the help of Cromwell and the King of Swede he could not carry on so well as he hath done, and, the latter being now so very low, the cardinal will cherish Cromwell the more" (p. 19). The campaign of

1658 led to more important results. In May the French under Turenne, in conjunction with an English force under Lockhart, laid siege to Dunkirk, and the battle of the Dunes on 14 June, in which they routed the Spanish relieving army of Condé and Don John supported by the English and Irish regiments raised by Charles for his invasion of England, was followed by the surrender of the town ten days later. On these events Nicholas's correspondence is full of interest. The condition of one at least of the English royalist regiments only a week before the battle is revealed in a letter from Col. Thomas Blague, who commanded the King's guards (p. 36). He had, he writes, only 260 men, who were so badly equipped that they were without "one wagon, car, horse or cloak to take the field withal," and apparently the Spanish authorities did little to help him. Besides other letters on the battle from Sir Charles Cotterell, the Earl of Bristol and Joseph Jane, a very graphic and candid account of it is given by Captain Peter Mews of Blague's regiment, afterwards Bishop of Winchester (p. 56). He names the scene of the action "Runaway Sands" and criticizes the whole conduct of it without reserve, beginning with the mistake of advancing to meet the enemy instead of drawing them beyond range of their guns in the trenches and on the sea. His own regiment and Lord Bristol's were crowded together on a hill too small for their numbers, and he declares that the men had only four charges of damp powder, while a third of them "either had no arms at all or else those they had were, and ever had been, unserviceable". The battle began, he says, on the right, where the Dukes of York and Gloucester "made so brisk a charge that, had they been seconded with 100 horse, that wing [of the enemy], which consisted entirely of English, had been totally routed". This success, however, was only momentary, and as soon as the infantry on both Spanish wings were broken, the cavalry fled from the field, "without making one charge, when 1000 horse well commanded would have redeemed all". As for the King's guards, they were not charged by the enemy at all, but

remained "purely passive" and were mostly made prisoners. By Turenne's orders the French refused both ransom and exchange. Mews was therefore fortunate in being taken with other officers by Lorraine troops, and his ransom was soon paid by the Duke of York. While a prisoner at Mardyke, he found the English soldiers there better disposed to the King than he expected, while they spoke contemptuously of their own officers as "the greatest cowards imaginable". In spite of reinforcements they were reduced to 4000 men, and confessed they had lost 3000 since the siege of Dunkirk began. On 24 June Bristol reported from Fumes that the royalist troops were coming together again, "all but the King's own regiment, which is totally lost" (p. 48), and the Duke of York, whose conduct in the battle was universally praised, told him they had mustered nearly 1000 men with most of the officers. According to Sir C. Cotterell they were coming in every day "but all stript," and their number was "about 600 men effective, though their officers mustered many more" (p. 50). On the surrender of Dunkirk the royalists conceived fresh hopes of a breach between Cromwell and France, if there should be any attempt to evade the terms of the treaty by which it was assigned to England. "Whether the town will be delivered to Cromwell is not yet certain, as far as I hear, but if not, it may produce some new thing," writes Jane on 28 June (p. 55), and on 5 July Sir R. Browne, the King's Resident in Paris, remarks on the fact that in the printed articles of the surrender "there is not the least mention of Cromwell or the English, no more than if there had not been one English sword drawn in the quarrel" (p. 64). This omission he attributes to the fear of disorders if it were publicly known that England was to be allowed to hold so important a fortress and harbour opposite its own coast.<sup>a</sup> But in spite of the strong popular feeling against it, the bargain, as in the case of Mardyke,

<sup>a</sup> On its advantage to England see Firth, *Last Years of the Protectorate*, ii. pp. 217, 219. Lockhart reported that the French soldiers were enraged at its cession (*ib.* p. 202).

was faithfully kept, and it was left for Charles II., when he was in need of money in 1662, to terminate the English occupation by selling the town to Louis XIV.

On 24 August, 1658, Ormonde writes from Hoogstraeten, where Charles was diverting himself with hunting, "Our condition is most sad, and the more that there appears no visible way out of it," (p. 67). The news that the most formidable obstacle to royalist hopes was removed by Cromwell's death on 3 September must therefore have been welcome. Any letters which Nicholas may have received relating to his illness and death have not been preserved, and the first intimation that he was dead is in a letter from Sir A. Hume at the Hague on  $\frac{1}{24}$  September. "We are now," he writes, "in great expectation to hear what this late great accident will produce in England. God send us to hear something that may be comfortable" (p. 69). The only letters during the rest of 1658 are from the King himself. On the death of Lord Napier, the nephew and faithful adherent of Montrose, he wrote to his widow and son in terms which do credit to his good feeling (p. 69); and on 11 November he made a piteous appeal to Don Alonso de Cardenas to procure him money from Spain (p. 72). Another letter to the minister of the English church at Amsterdam (p. 70) seems to have been prompted by the fear that his improving prospects might be prejudiced by doubts as to his religion. It was evidently intended to be made public, and, so far as words go, nothing could be more satisfactory than his assurance of his unalterable attachment to "the Protestant religion in which we have been bred, the propagation whereof we shall endeavour with our utmost power". A Declaration to all his subjects on Richard Cromwell's assumption of the Protectorate (p. 72) is undated, and, as it is merely a very rough draft by Nicholas, there is nothing to indicate that it was actually issued.

After an interval the correspondence begins again in March, 1659, and from this point it is fuller and of increasing interest. A large proportion of the letters are from royalist agents and

news-writers in England, but Sir R. Browne and Percy Church continue to write from Paris and Sir A. Hume from the Hague. Among less regular correspondents there are three highly characteristic letters from that staunch old cavalier and lover of horses, the Marquis of Newcastle. "God ever preserve my gracious master from all knaves, fools and bloody rascals," he writes from Antwerp on 1 May, in allusion to a reported plot against the King's life, and he then proceeds to draw a distinction between a horseman and a horsedealer (p. 110). Later, he looked forward to seeing Hyde ride to the Chancery at Westminster upon one of his "horses of manège, which will be the quietest, safest and surest he or any man can have" (p. 125). In the French news a frequent topic is the progress of the negotiations for peace with Spain. On 14 April Browne writes (p. 81) that the issue was "yet a secret in the cardinal's breast," but the queen-mother Anne of Austria did not conceal her ardent desire for peace. "Why," she asked, "should two or three towns more or less hinder so great a blessing to all Christendom?" A month later it was practically assured, the only doubt being whether England would be included in it. Lockhart, the English ambassador, was frequently with the cardinal; but "as for England," writes Browne on 2 May, "the general voice is that they refuse to be comprised," the reason being that "they will not have others treat their interest as if they were some petty state, but will make Spain come and seek peace at London" (p. 111). Lockhart, indeed, at a public audience congratulated Louis and his mother on the success of the negotiations, but when the Queen expressed regret that England stood aloof, he replied "in high terms" to the same effect (p. 132). No doubt Cromwell's death and the insecurity of the new Protector's position somewhat cooled Mazarin's zeal for the alliance, and an effort was made to recover Dunkirk by offering the English half a million crowns to reimburse their expenses (p. 111). This offer was refused, and it is therefore not surprising that Lockhart's subsequent application to Mazarin for a loan to the Protector of 300,000 crowns met with

a rebuff (p. 141). Valuable as the place was for the command of the Channel and the protection of English commerce against privateers, its retention was not without drawbacks, for the mortality among the English garrison was very great (p. 87). Nor was the advantage wholly with the English in the war with Spain which they still continued alone after France had made peace. While the Spanish were encouraged by the safe arrival of the plate fleet in April, 1659, "being the richest that hath come from the Indies these many years" (p. 131), on the other hand the damage inflicted on English trade was considerable, and one of Nicholas's correspondents gives him a vivid description of its effect on the London Exchange (p. 103).<sup>a</sup> But, although both nations were anxious for peace, the two Governments still stood on their dignity, neither being willing to make the first advance, and the war thus lingered on until after the Restoration (p. 267).

In the spring of 1659 the growing difficulties of the Protectorate government encouraged the royalist leaders abroad in the belief that the time for action was now nearly ripe, and their agents in England were busy. For good reasons they adopted fictitious names and wrote largely in cipher. Nicholas calls his two principal correspondents in his dockets to their letters "Mr. Minden" and "Mr. Miles" or "Mr. Milles". The former, who signs as Tristram Thomas or 866, was undoubtedly the Presbyterian royalist Major General Edward Massey. He and the equally well-known Captain Silius Titus were sent over fully accredited by Charles in his "Instructions for his friends in England" dated 11 March (new style).<sup>b</sup> Their safe arrival together in London was announced by Massey in a letter of  $\frac{5}{18}$  March, but for greater security they immediately separated, meeting only from time to

<sup>a</sup> See a letter from J. Barwick to Hyde, 20 April, 1659 (*Thurloe St. Pap.* vii. p. 662). It appears that 1200 ships had been lost since the war began, "and yet we brag of our prizes".

<sup>b</sup> "I would have all my friends look upon Major General Massie and Captain Titus as persons very well affected and devoted to my service and worthy to be trusted by them" (*Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 437).

time to compare notes (p. 74). Since "Mr. Miles" as well as Massey frequently speaks of his "fellow-traveller," it is natural to suppose that each refers to the other, and that "Mr. Miles," whose seventeen letters are signed with ten different names, was therefore Captain Titus. This assumption, however, is not borne out either by the handwriting of his letters or by internal evidence. His hand, indeed, is not so very different from that of Titus and might have been disguised, but, unlike Massey, he does not write as if he was a political agent reporting the progress of a secret mission. Unless his continual references to a chancery suit are merely a blind, he seems to have been employed by Nicholas on legal business in England, and at the same time to have kept him regularly supplied with political news. As he signs one of his letters "W. Miles" (p. 157) and the docket of another is "Mr. William Miles" (p. 163), possibly this was his real name<sup>a</sup>; but however that may be, his letters, both from their matter and their racy style, are among the most interesting in the volume. Who his fellow-traveller was, assuming he was not Massey, it is impossible to say. A few letters addressed to Nicholas at this time by two other London correspondents are also included. Although one signs as R. Greene and the other as William Warner and the hands are entirely distinct, in his dockets he calls them both "Mr. Johnson". Their real names are of no great importance, but from a similarity in style and other slight indications it is possible that they were identical.

Immediately after his arrival Massey had an interview with "some chief persons of London" belonging to the "cabal" of the Presbyterian Major General Richard Browne<sup>b</sup> and other

<sup>a</sup> He was certainly not the royalist agent Thomas Ross, afterwards royal librarian, as at one time I thought might be the case (vol. iii. p. xx). As he says on 13 May that he had seen his fellow-traveller "but once since Christmas" (p. 140), the two could hardly have been Titus and Massey.

<sup>b</sup> He was named in the King's "Instructions" among those in whom he had great confidence (*Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 487). He must be distinguished from Nicholas's Paris correspondent, Sir Richard Browne.

representatives of the city in Parliament (p. 75). He could, however, extract from them no assurance of effectual support, and the only hope, as it seemed, was in the "malice" of the republicans and anabaptists against the Protector. The latter, indeed, were so incensed at Richard's efforts to secure the recognition of his father's house of peers by the Parliament which met on 22 January, that Massey was assured that, if the King would issue a declaration for liberty of conscience, "they would all stand for him ere Cromwell should carry it". In the Commons, however, the Court party, as Richard's supporters were called, were in the majority, and after it was further strengthened by admitting the Scotch and Irish members to sit, the motion "to transact" with the other house was carried on 28 March by seventy-three votes against Sir Henry Vane and his friends (pp. 84, 89). The "commonwealth men" nevertheless continued to harass the Protector in every way possible, "neglecting nothing that may asperse any about the Court" (p. 85). Col. Philip Jones, his Comptroller, who was one of those so attacked, is said to have retaliated by offering to put him "into a way that he should never want money nor ever need to call a parliament" (p. 84). Whatever the scheme was, Richard, "very kindly and prudently, as he doth all things," refused to listen to it, declaring that he would "rather starve than displease the people or disoblige this parliament". But the gravest menace to the stability of his Government was from the army, whose pay was in arrear and whose sympathies were largely republican. "The officers of the army," writes Miles on 8 April, "that would be thought the holier part of the nation and not mercenary men, begin to bustle and make a noise" (p. 101). A petition of grievances which they had presented to the Protector two days before, and which he passed on to the Parliament, was believed to be "but a preface" to a dissolution (p. 104); but as they resolved at a fast which they held a week later "to assert the government in a Protector and two houses [of Parliament]" and to uphold the regicides and exclude the Stuarts (p. 105), they were evidently not yet prepared

for drastic changes. In reporting these resolutions on 15 April, Johnson adds, "Upon the whole matter they find they cannot subsist without the Protector, nor the Protector without them," and he refers also, though perhaps ironically, to the good understanding which Richard preserved between his Parliament and army as a proof that his prudence exceeded his father's. How little any such understanding could be relied upon was soon shown when the Parliament on 18 April passed a resolution forbidding any general council of officers without the authority of the Protector and both houses, and ordering that no one, unless he signed a declaration not to disturb the free meeting of Parliament, should hold any command.<sup>a</sup> As the Protector took the same line and commanded all officers to return to their quarters (p. 121), matters were thus brought to a crisis, the result being that he was forced by the army leaders to dissolve the Parliament on 22 April. His own authority virtually came to an end at the same time, being superseded by that of the general council of the army, with Fleetwood and Desborough, chosen as General and Lieut. General, at its head. Graphic descriptions of the confusion that ensued will be found on pp. 122, 124. It was, however, recognized that "the nation will not like to be governed by their stipendiaries; some shadow of a civil power there must be". Massey's news on 3 May was that the higher officers "have yet thoughts to settle Cromwell, though not in so great power" (p. 126), or, as another writer puts it, "to hold him still up and act under his name" (p. 127). Lockhart also at Paris assured the French King that, although there had been disputes between him and his officers, "yet all would be composed and he more settled in power than ever" (p. 129), while Downing at the Hague as late as  $\frac{17}{27}$  May still owned him as his master, and affirmed "that all those late commotions will rather strengthen than weaken his authority" (p. 142). But the inferior officers and soldiery and the more ardent republicans generally were bent on a commonwealth, and it

<sup>a</sup> *Commons' Journals*, vii. p. 641.

was eventually agreed to restore the "rump end" of the Long Parliament, which had been forcibly dissolved in 1653. A correspondent of Percy Church (p. 138) states that this was chiefly brought about by Lambert, who, since he was readmitted to his command on the fall of the Protector, was the most active of the army's leaders. At the first sitting of the restored Parliament on 7 May only about fifty members, all "sworn enemies to kingship," were present, with the old Speaker Lenthall in the chair. "They entered the house," says Miles (p. 134), "from the Painted Chamber, as the beasts did the ark, in couples," and immediately proceeded to vote themselves the supreme power, to bar out those members who had been excluded in 1648, and to declare against "a single person, kings and peers". The excluded members, however, did not submit without vigorous protest, and they found a champion in Prynne, "who, indeed, spoke very boldly". Deserted by all, the Protector Richard, now become "a very Dick," was powerless to resist even if he had so wished. On 29 April he is described as being "in a melancholy posture at Whitehall, rather watched than attended there" (p. 122), and on 25 May he sent his formal submission to the Parliament, with an appeal for relief from debts incurred by his father and himself on the public account. Henceforth in this royalist correspondence he appears merely as an object of ridicule and contempt, harassed by bailiffs, and caricatured with an owl's head (p. 160). We have, indeed, one glimpse of him at his mother's lodgings at the Cockpit "much relieved in his spirits" by a letter from his brother Henry in Ireland (p. 156). The latter at first seemed inclined to resist, which encouraged some to "vow Oliver is not dead while he lives" (p. 135); but at the end of June "with a pusillanimity suitable of his elder brother" he surrendered his government and also made his submission. "All that family," adds Miles, "are already in the kennel, the derision of porters and ballad-mongers" (p. 161).

These changes so far were of little advantage to the royalist cause. The last act of Richard's Parliament was to banish the

cavaliers twenty miles from London, and its successor as early as 9 May was warned by the Committee of Safety that an invasion was imminent and that many of the party had come over, Massey and Titus, for whom fruitless search had been made, being specially mentioned.<sup>a</sup> Writing on 6 May (p. 130), Johnson thought the King would never have so good an opportunity, "army and London both divided, the fleet remote, Cromwell forsaken by all". "Almost everybody," he says, "would welcome the King and not a few expect him"; and he advised that Henry Cromwell, Monck and Montague should be approached, "for, if one of them take his interest, it is hoped the rest may follow or do the work alone". Massey's letters were less encouraging. The main object of his mission was to promote a rising in the west of England, for which it was deemed essential to secure the strong local influence of Colonel Alexander Popham at Bristol and of John Grubham Howe at Gloucester. He soon got into touch with Popham, and on 4 April he reports an interview with him, at which he was at length induced to declare that, if he saw any design that his judgment approved, "he would employ all he was able therein" (p. 97). In spite of this somewhat qualified adhesion and of the hopes expressed by Sir William Waller and others, Massey writes in a despondent tone.<sup>b</sup> He found "the Presbiter party generally are naught," and he clearly had little confidence in Major General Browne, now again an alderman of London, though well assured that, "if he would do anything, the city is apt enough to take fire" (p. 98). Nor was his talk with "diverse citizens and ministers well affected" any more satisfactory, for they were under the influence of "those scandals the Independents had cast upon his Majesty" and were surprised that he was "so silent as if he regarded not his kingdoms nor the assistance of his friends" (p. 99).

<sup>a</sup> *Commons' Journals*, 19 April, 9 May, vii. p. 646.

<sup>b</sup> Writing to Mordaunt on 11 April Hyde says he had just received a letter from him, "by which I find he is melancholy and unsatisfied with the coldness of his old friends" (*Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 455).

Later in April (p. 114), apparently in answer to criticisms of his former letters, he professed to be well satisfied with the Bristol and Gloucester business; but he had not even yet seen Howe and suspected that Mordaunt, another active plotter, wished to monopolize the credit of winning him over. It is evident, indeed, that jealousies and divided counsels were, as usual, working mischief in the party, and he specially complains of "the great men here of the Sealed Knot or the Council Entrusted, as they call themselves," who would not act themselves and hindered others from doing so. As Sir Richard Willis, who had been in Thurloe's pay since 1656 and was publicly placarded as a traitor in July (p. 169),<sup>a</sup> was one of them, no design of which they had knowledge was likely to prosper. Massey's last letter is dated 23 June (p. 158), when he had been for a month in concealment in Gloucestershire. He there learnt that the King's friends had undertaken to rise only on the promise that he would first land with a force in person, but that they were still prepared to venture if Popham and Howe would come forward.<sup>b</sup> As they both shrank from committing themselves to any overt act of rebellion, he was in despair. "Mr. Popham and Howe," he exclaims, "have ruined us, and I truly wish that they had not been named in the business," while as for the Sealed Knot, he wished they "had never been heard of". Nevertheless he did not relax in his efforts, and an attempt to seize Gloucester by surprise was planned for 1 August. It was, however, frustrated by the arrest of the leaders two days before. Massey himself, though he was betrayed and taken, by a bold expedient and under cover of darkness contrived to escape from his escort (p. 178). A more serious rising in Cheshire and on the Welsh border, headed by Sir George Booth and Sir Thomas Middleton, at

<sup>a</sup> Mordaunt, writing to Hyde on 6 July, called this a scandalous libel (*Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 517), but there was no doubt of its truth.

<sup>b</sup> For Popham's proposals, stipulating that the King should land in the west of England, see *Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 505. His inclinations, according to Rumbold in a letter to Hyde, 23 May, were very good, but neither Massey nor Titus was satisfied with Howe (*ib.* p. 478).

first made some progress, but after Booth's defeat by the Parliament forces under Lambert on 19 August it was speedily suppressed.

These royalist and presbyterian plots were not the only difficulty with which the revived Long Parliament had to contend. Frequent references are here made to its internal dissensions, in which Sir Henry Vane appears as the most prominent figure. The political views of this "giddy head of the confused sectaries" will be found described by Miles on pp. 157, 161. "Some of the grandes," he writes on 17 June, "are for a general comprehensive state of all men of all religions, but Sir Henry Vane is stiff for the gifted men alone, and those only such as his own holiness shall deem so"; and again, on 24 June, "Sir Henry Vane looks upon the nation as unacquainted with its own good and unfit to be trusted with power lest they abuse it to their own and his ruin". With more moderate men such opinions were not likely to be popular, and before the end of June he is said to have "talked himself to jealousies and contempt in the house" and to be "outvoted by the presbyterian members, and sometimes for no other reason but he shall take notice that he is outvoted" (p. 165). Outside the House the new Commonwealth Government had a formidable opponent in Prynne, himself an excluded member. By his vigorous attacks upon it in the press, in which he asserted "the old cause of king and parliament with defiance to the usurper" (p. 139), he fully atoned in royalist opinion for his former offences, which among other penalties had cost him his ears. "His quill," says Miles, "doth the best present right to our eagle, and, tho' his ears are lost, he hears now very well and speaks more loyalty to a general reception than any other" (p. 157). But the Parliament's greatest difficulty was with those to whom it owed its recall to power. "Their jealousies and fears," says the same writer on 23 May, "are not alone of their enemies, but of their friends also, even the men in buff that gave them their second birth" (p. 146). One of their earliest tasks therefore was to check any tendencies in the army to reaction or independence and to keep it strictly

under their own control. In order to "new model" it, suspected officers were removed and others of more approved republican principles put in their places, "by which means they hope to throw off Fleetwood, Desborough, etc., and by a pack of their own shuffling give law to the nations" (p. 152). Moreover, although they ratified the army's own choice by appointing Fleetwood commander-in-chief, they set some limit to his power by transferring the nomination of officers to a committee, on which six other members were associated with him.<sup>a</sup> The right of granting commissions was, however, reserved to Parliament itself, as the supreme power in the State, and they were not only issued under the name of the Speaker but in many cases were delivered by him to the recipients from the chair. By this means, according to Miles, the army was subdued with its own consent, and "so far," he adds, "the design hath taken that even Fleetwood and many of the chief officers have rendered their commissions and from them at the house bar with congees and verbal compliments taken new" (p. 155).<sup>b</sup> Desborough appears to have at first refused, telling "the soldiers they are lost and undone because they suffer themselves in part to be torn and divided without their councils and approbation". Some anxiety was also felt as to the attitude of Monck in Scotland. Although he loyally accepted the new Government, the tone of his letters was reserved and enigmatic, and as he also demurred to the cashiering of his officers, whom he knew and trusted, to make room for others of whom he knew nothing, he appeared to some to be "more in quiet than obedience" (pp. 162, 164, 168). At the same time, in spite of the outward submission of the armed forces in all three kingdoms (p. 164), a dangerous spirit of restlessness and discontent continued to show itself. It was most prevalent in and near London, where a mutiny broke out on 7 July, which was appeased with difficulty by the officers, and it was even feared that the soldiery would have again forced a dissolution (p. 169). The Rump in fact did not succeed in winning respect or favour

<sup>a</sup> *Commons' Journals*, 13 May, 8 June, vii. pp. 650, 674.    <sup>b</sup> *Ib.* 9 June, p. 677.

either with the army or the people, and within a month it was reported to have become "suspected and nauseous" (p. 152). The army's chief grievance was the delay in the payment of its arrears. It also resented the drastic "purging" of its officers, and, in its jealousy of what might eventually prove a rival force, it suspected the motives of the Parliament in passing a bill for establishing a militia (pp. 146, 168). Among the civil population this measure at first excited little opposition, but before long alarm was caused by the arbitrary methods of the commissioners appointed to carry it out, and on 22 July Nicholas was told that the city was "sick of its militia and as little able to cure itself" (p. 172). Oppressed as they were with heavy taxes and arbitrary exactions of all kinds the people were in no mood to submit tamely to further burdens. An application by the Parliament to the Court of Aldermen for a loan on 22 June was bluntly refused, being met with the answer that "they might by their power, if they pleased, take it, but they would send none," and it was only granted after long debate at a Common Council summoned for the purpose by a "conformitant" Lord Mayor (p. 163). "Entire bodies of parliament were never heavier than this goodly Rump," says Miles on 1 July (p. 165), and in three other letters during this month he enlarges with his usual vigour of language on the same subject and on the growing discontent. On 8 August (p. 177) he sends news of Booth's rising and of the measures taken to suppress it, with strictures on Lambert's violent expressions against the cavaliers and presbyterians and on the proposals of the Rump for inciting tenants against their landlords. "The common soldiers," he says, "tho' encouraged by free quarter and plunder, show little alacrity to the service." Unfortunately this is his last letter,<sup>a</sup> and as the correspondence includes no others written to Nicholas from England until  $\frac{6}{16}$  December,

<sup>a</sup> Further correspondence between him and Nicholas, 12 November, 1659, to 16 March, 1660, will be found in the *Cal. of St. Pap.* 1659-60. In one letter (p. 393) he uses the additional pseudonym William Downeman and addresses Nicholas as Thomas Betts.

we learn nothing from it as to English affairs between these dates. In connection, however, with the King's intended landing in support of the insurgents two letters of Charles himself will be found on pp. 174, 180. In the first, written late in July, he gives instructions to the Duke of York "upon their going several ways for England,"<sup>a</sup> and in the other, which is a draft in Hyde's hand with the added date Brussels, 12 August (new style), states for the reassurance of his friends in England the principles on which he intended to govern if he should regain his throne. On 1 August (new style) he was at Brussels hourly expecting a summons to begin his journey (p. 175), but, if he signed this letter before he started, he must have stayed there some time longer. When he was stopped at Calais by the news of the failure of the insurrection, instead of returning to Brussels, he made his way secretly through France to Fontarabia on the Spanish border, apparently with the intention of going to Madrid. He reached La Rochelle on 22 September, and between that date and 7 November Nicholas was kept informed of his movements, which were somewhat erratic, by a series of letters from Ormonde and Lord Colepeper, who were in attendance upon him (pp. 181-88). France and Spain being now at peace, his chief object was to induce them to co-operate in active support of his cause, and the conference between Mazarin and the Spanish minister, Don Luis de Haro, which was in progress at the time near Fontarabia, and which resulted in the treaty of the Pyrenees, offered him a good opportunity for negotiating with them both. With regard to France he was in a delicate position. Under the French treaty with Cromwell he was debarred from entering the country. His presence in it in disguise therefore needed some explanation, and it even seems that there was some fear of his being arrested, for, although on his arrival at La Rochelle Ormonde was ordered to go to the cardinal "with a compliment proper for the occasion," he was not to proceed on his mission until Charles himself

<sup>a</sup> The instructions to the Duke of Gloucester, who was to be left behind at Brussels, are in the Appendix (p. 266).

was out of reach (p. 181). Writing on 12 October from Toulouse Ormonde says that the King left there on the seventh (p. 182) ; but he himself remained in order " to excuse the King's passing through France incognito, with other instructions to the cardinal to soften and incline him to be a friend to the King's business " (p. 184). As Mazarin had gone to St. Jean de Luz, Ormonde followed him thither, still in disguise, but his request for an interview was refused, though the negative was " sweetened with many good words, which (if made good) are worth three affirmatives " (p. 187). Of Don Luis de Haro's support there was never any doubt, but it was admitted that the French minister's concurrence was indispensable. " Spain neither will nor can help us," writes Colepeper on 22 October, " except France join in the work, which it will never do until Mazarin be fully satisfied, and that as well in his hopes as in his fears " (p. 185). No doubt he was less inclined to take up the King's cause after the recent evidence of the weakness of its supporters in England ; in any case, he proved obdurate to all appeals, and Charles was compelled to return to Brussels without having effected anything by his journey.

While he was engaged in this futile attempt to enlist foreign aid, the Rump Parliament had come to an open rupture with the army, and on 13 October its sittings were brought to a sudden end by a military force under Lambert, whom it had dismissed from his command the day before. As the supreme governing authority it therefore ceased for a time to exist, and after some days of anarchy the administrative functions of the Council of State were taken over by a Committee of Safety chosen by the officers, chiefly from among themselves. This military revolution was approved neither by the fleet under Lawson nor by Monck. If the usurping officers counted on the latter's support, they were soon undeceived, for he at once declared for the Parliament and prepared to march into England. While he was still encamped beyond the Tweed, and Lambert with a large force was waiting at Newcastle to oppose him, a graphic description of the situation in London was given to

Nicholas by Col. Robert Whitley, a royalist agent, in a letter dated  $\frac{6}{16}$  December (p. 190). Notwithstanding its dislike of the Rump, the city was not prepared to accept a military tyranny in its place, but the authorities seem to have been distracted between anxiety to get rid of Fleetwood's troops, which held the Tower and some of the gates, and fears of disturbances by the fanatics. Among the people the strong feeling against the "army men" showed itself in open affronts and secret murders, and Nicholas was assured that "all here (except the interested and wary ones) are ripe and almost mad for action". Whether this zeal was on the King's behalf is not made clear, but it appears that some royalist design was on foot, in which Alderman Browne and Phineas and Peter Pett, who had "good interest with seamen," one being Clerk of the Check at Chatham and the other Commissioner of the Navy, were expected to join. After three months' interval the next letter here printed is also from Whitley and is dated  $\frac{9}{19}$  March, 16 $\frac{59}{60}$ . Military rule had then again given way to the Rump, which resumed its sittings on 26 December, but the situation was materially altered by the presence of Monck. He had crossed the Tweed on 2 January without opposition from Lambert, whose forces had broken up, and he arrived in London with his army on 3 February. Although his refusal at the Council of State to take the oath abjuring the Stuarts was not without significance, his real sentiments and intentions with regard to the settlement of the nation were still shrouded in uncertainty. In answer to Nicholas's inquiries, Whitley names William Morice, Clarges and Pierrepont as his chief confidants, of whom the first two at least were suspected of royalist sentiments; but he also includes Oliver St. John, of whom he says "not only his actions but several late discourses speak him no friend to the king's person nor interest" (p. 194). Although Monck's own speeches were ambiguous, at the same time he did not conceal his dissatisfaction with the existing Government, and by insisting on the readmission to the House of the members excluded in 1648 and by declaring for a free Parliament he regained the goodwill of the

city, which he had offended on his first arrival by obeying the orders of the Rump for its coercion by a display of force.

When the excluded members were allowed to take their seats on 21 February, they lost no time in making their presence felt, as may be seen in the account of what they effected in little more than a fortnight given in a letter to Nicholas from John Heath (p. 204). Their obligations to Monck himself were at once repaid by making him commander-in-chief of the forces in all three kingdoms, and by specially appointing him to a new Council of State before proceeding to elect the other members.<sup>a</sup> This Council was reported to Nicholas (p. 205) to be "for the greater part moderate, if not right men," with Arthur Annesley as President, "a very able and good man, one of the best there," while St. John was "the very worst". The final act of the Rump under these changed conditions was for its own dissolution on 16 March, and for the calling a new Parliament, to be freely elected, on 25 April. Although there is little doubt that Monck was already resolved to restore the monarchy as the only means to bring peace to the nation, he had a difficult part to play, nor was it made any easier by the indiscretions of royalists such as Sir W. Davenant and others (pp. 195, 201, 205). His strength, according to Whitley, was in the city rather than in his army, which was "the most uncertain fickle body in the world and not to be fixed except with the city money". The republicans, however, were still powerful not only in the Rump and among the sectaries in London but in many parts of the country, and a plot by the party was discovered on 4 March, which aimed, it was said, at the lives of Monck himself and many members of the Parliament and Council of State. They also had supporters in Monck's army, which gave him much trouble. On 8 March some of his officers, instigated, in Whitley's opinion, as much by royalist threats of vengeance in the event of the King's return as by the persuasion of republican politicians, called upon him to subscribe a declaration "against all single persons, particularly the King and his family,

<sup>a</sup> *Commons' Journals*, 21 February, vii. p. 846.

and for the settling of a free state". This he refused to do, and by his trenchant language in reprimanding them, as reported to Nicholas (pp. 201, 205), he showed his confidence in the strength of his own position. The effect of it was seen at the end of the month, when the whole council of officers signed an engagement "to acquiesce in what the next Parliament should determine as to the settling of a Government in the nation" (p. 206). This was the declared intention of Monck himself (p. 201), and, as there was now little doubt of the direction in which popular opinion was tending, it was almost tantamount to an expression of willingness to return to a monarchy. Royalist feeling ran high not only in the city, where the form of Common Prayer was boldly used in some of the churches (p. 198), and in Monck's own family (p. 203), but even in the moribund Parliament, as was seen in its reception of the speech of "old blind Stephens" on a vote for re-publishing the Covenant (p. 199).

Of the meeting of the Convention Parliament, consisting of both Lords and Commons, on 25 April, and of the events immediately preceding the Restoration, the correspondence tells us nothing. Four letters, however, of Charles II., just before his return, are printed from copies preserved by Nicholas. The first is addressed from Breda, 23 May (new style), to Monck and Montague, conveying his thanks to the fleet for its expressions of fidelity (p. 208). Another, to Monck alone, from the Hague, 26 May, is apparently the King's enlarged answer to the address from the army which he promised to send when he acknowledged the receipt of the address on 21 May (p. 209). The other two, which are in French, are to Don Luis de Haro and the Marquis de Caracena, the latter of whom is assured by Charles of his determination to form an alliance with Spain (p. 210). The bulk of the remaining letters in the volume after the Restoration are from Sir Henry de Vic, Resident at Brussels (pp. 212-55). Apart from diplomatic affairs, they are mainly concerned with Thomas Scot, the republican politician and regicide, who was detected in Flanders in disguise

and after a long detention under parole in De Vic's house was sent in custody to England, where he was executed on 17 October. One letter from Nicholas to De Vic is included, in which he dilates on the "singular affection" shown to the King both in Parliament and the country (p. 240); and attention may also be directed to an extremely interesting letter from Sir Samuel Morland complaining of the ill-requital of his secret services to the King when Assistant Secretary of State under Thurloe (p. 257).

When Nicholas returned to England with the King he was sixty-seven years of age, but he retained his office until 15 October, 1662, and survived in retirement until 1 September, 1669. Sir William Morice, however, was appointed by Charles as a second Secretary of State as early as February, 1660, and no doubt relieved him of a large amount of official business. Whether for this or any other reason, his correspondence in the British Museum after the Restoration ceases for the most part to be of particular interest, and it is therefore not proposed to print any further selection from it beyond the limit of date reached in this volume.

G. F. W.

## ERRATA.

Page 83, last line but four, *for* 19 Apr. *read* 9 Apr.

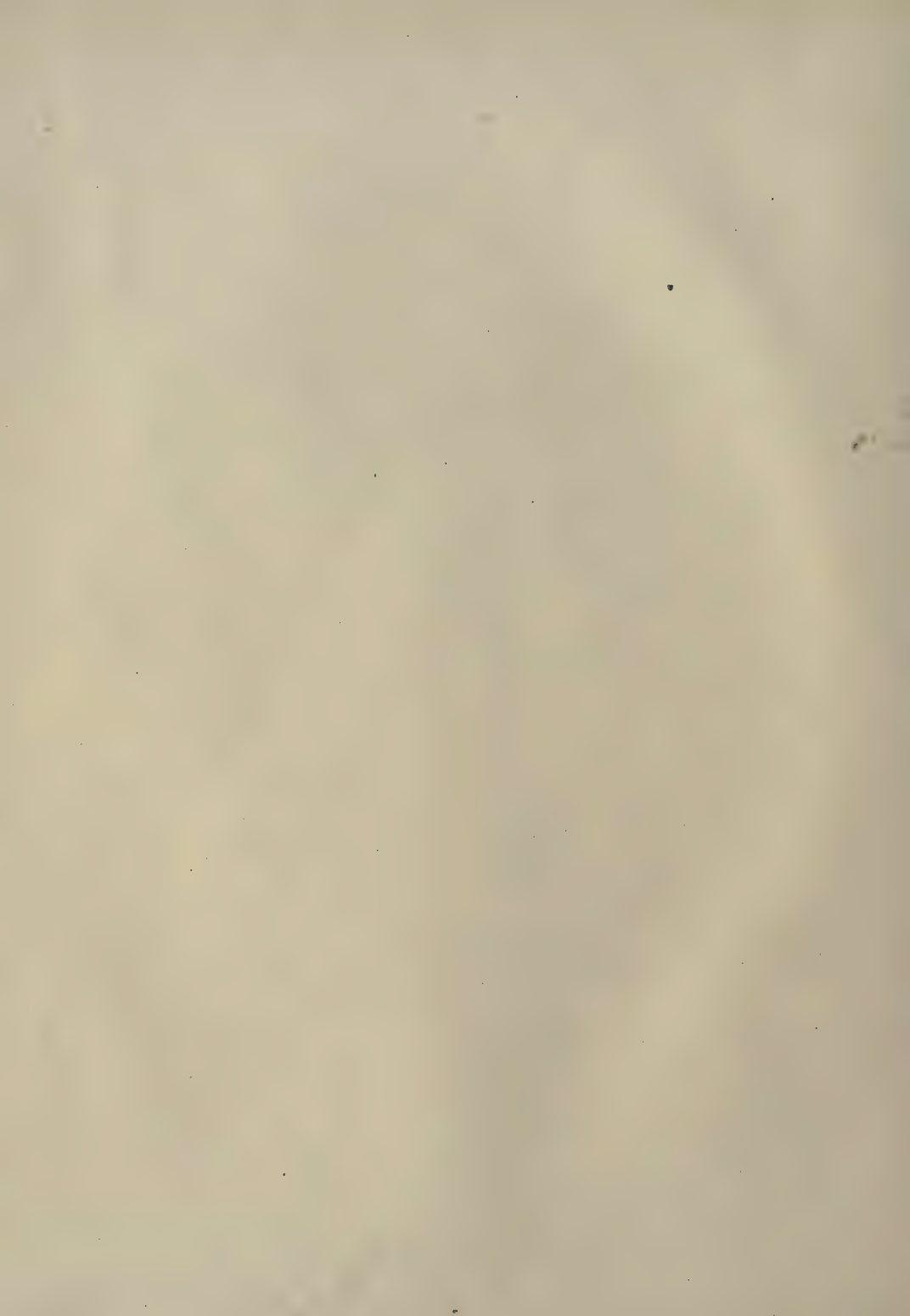
Page 87, note, *for* *passee* *read* *fasse*.

Page 129, line 10, *for* *bee* *read* *hee*.

Page 134, line 24, *after* former *insert* a comma.

Page 163, *delete* note b.

Page 187. *At foot of page insert note b to overture* (l. 18). The overture was from a friend of Lambert. See a letter from Nicholas to Mordaunt, 22 November, in *Cal. St. Pap.*, 1659-60, p. 262.



# CORRESPONDENCE

## OF

### SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.

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SIR EDWARD NICHOLAS.<sup>a</sup>

TO LORD COLEPEPER.

From Bruges, 1<sup>st</sup> January, 1657.

I received late the last night your Lordship's of the 9<sup>th</sup> inst. and, having this morning acquainted Mr. Chancellor<sup>b</sup> with the same, he hath told me that resolution is taken by His Majesty in the business of the D. of York's unhappy leaving this place<sup>c</sup> upon your Lordship's letter written to Mr. Chancellor on that subject, so as I shall not say any more to you of that matter than you will receive from the K. himself and from Mr. Chancellor, and I am in good hope your Lordship will prevail with his Royal Highness, so as that he will resolve to return hither speedily, whereby to stop the mouths of such as watch for all advantages to prejudice and discredit the Royal Family and their interest. I hope,

Add. 4180,  
f. 134.

<sup>a</sup> These and other passages from letters of Nicholas himself are taken from Dr. Thomas Birch's extracts from his lost letter-books (Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 4180, cf. vol. i. p. ii). Birch modernized the spelling.

<sup>b</sup> Sir Edward Hyde, Chancellor of the Exchequer. He was made Lord Chancellor at Bruges, 13 Jan. 1657-8.

<sup>c</sup> For his reasons see his "Instructions for Mr. Blague" in *Clar. State Papers*, iii. p. 321.

1657. if his Royal Highness return suddenly, that his absence in this manner will not retard the execution of what is now in hand for the good and advantage of his Majesty and his Royal Family's interest against their greatest enemies.

TO LIEUT.-GEN. MIDDLETON.

$\frac{1}{21}$  March, 1657.

I have not known the K. in greater want than he is, not having had wherewith to pay his domestic servants these 18 months. . . . It is not possible for the K. to send any forces till October or November for England.

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MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.

GOOD MR. SECRETARY,

Brussels, 23 Mar. 1657.<sup>a</sup>

Eg. 2536,  
f. 125.

Notwithstanding Mon<sup>r</sup>. Shomberg's<sup>b</sup> information to his friends in Holland St. Gelien is rendred, and yet all that hee then writ he might haue reason for. But hee remembred not that, as his Ma<sup>ties</sup> being in France got that Crowne many places in Gien,<sup>c</sup> so his being here might loose him that place, as in truth it has. The difference I hope will bee that, whereas in France there was not so much as notice taken that they were in the least degree be-houlding to our Master, here they will not only confesse it, but value it as it ought, by doeing all they can for him. Wee doe not yet know the particulars of the capitulation, but in generall wee heare the Gouvernour had all satisfaction usuall in shuch cases. I am heartily glad of it, beleueing him a worthy person and a friend to our Master, if hee bee not changed. I would bee glad to know what you heare out of England, for mee thinkes wee are more in the darke then wee ought to bee as to what is in present agitation there, upon which I beleue much depends.

<sup>a</sup> Only two letters, of no importance, in 1657 before this have been preserved.

<sup>b</sup> Frederic Herman Schomberg, the future Duke of Schomberg (1689), now a Lieut.-General in the French service. Owing to the defection of the Irish troops which formed part of the garrison he was compelled to surrender St. Ghislain in Hainault to Condé and Don John of Austria 22 March.

<sup>c</sup> He alludes to the French successes against the Spaniards in Guienne in 1653.

Wee expect Don Juan<sup>a</sup> and all his traine here on Saturday, that is tomorrow, and upon his returne I hope wee shall haue some good by his successe. What, I pray, was the maner of Locker's<sup>b</sup> entry and reception, and how are both taken in the Palais Royall?

1657.

Your most affectionate humble servant,  
ORMONDE.

SIR E. NICHOLAS.

To LIEUT.-GEN. MIDDLETON.

From Bruges, 9 Apr. N.S., 1657.

Yesterday the K. commanded me to deliver his command to the Lord Balcarres<sup>c</sup> to forbear to come any more to his Court; which his Lordship takes very heavily and stands on his justification never to have deserved it and thinks the memorandum he gave to Sir H. Knox<sup>d</sup> (which I suppose you have seen) may be easily excused.

Add. 4180.  
f. 134b.To MR. FR. ROPER.<sup>e</sup>

9 Apr. N.S.

The K. and both the Dukes went hence this day for Brussels about settling his Majesty's affairs there. The K. of Spain and his Ministers in these parts express very much passion for the K.

<sup>a</sup> Natural son of Philip IV. of Spain and Governor of the Netherlands.

<sup>b</sup> Sir William Lockhart, English Ambassador to France since Apr. 1656. The treaty by which Cromwell undertook to aid the French with 6000 men in the war against Spanish Flanders was signed on 23 Mar., the same day on which Ormonde was writing. See Firth, *Last Years of the Protectorate*, i. p. 269.

<sup>c</sup> Alexander Lindsay, 1st Earl. He was ordered to leave the court on the ground that he was in correspondence with the Queen's faction at the Palais Royal (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 273). He died at Breda, 30 Aug. 1659. For his high character see Burnet, *Hist. of My Own Time*, ed. Ayr, i. p. 104.

<sup>d</sup> See vol. ii. p. 140, note.

<sup>e</sup> Francis, brother of Christopher Roper, 4th Lord Teynham (Egert. MS. 2542, f. 283). His business in Germany was apparently to procure funds to relieve the King's necessities (*ib.* f. 291).

1657.

our Master's Restoration. Sir Henry Bennet<sup>a</sup> went from St. Sebastian's the 16<sup>th</sup> of March and is long before this at Madrid, as we here believe.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

1<sup>5</sup> Apr.

Poor as I am, I have made a shift to get a mourning suit (and such a cloke as I could make) and intend to put it on tomorrow, being the day that I shall be full 64 years, to mourn for my dear mother,<sup>b</sup> who was within 3 or 4 months of 84 years old when she died; but I am not able to give either my wife or sons any mourning clothes, being, I believe, worse dealt with in point of payment of what I have above 3 years since laid out of my purse and for the allowance the K. gives his servants than any servant His Majesty hath.

TO SIR H. BENNET.

1<sup>5</sup> [Apr.]

The K. is still at Brussels soliciting for payment of the small sum long since promised him. I assure you the K. of Spain as well as the K. of England suffers extremely by the strange delay and neglect used here towards his Majesty in that kind, even to the great grief of all here that love and honour his Majesty. I presume you have before this heard how that Sir John Berkley is returned to Court and as graciously used by our K. as formerly.

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MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.

GOOD MR. SECRETARY,

Brusels, 18 April, [16]57.

Ms. 2536,  
f. 126.

I have bin here now 3 of the days I promised you to give you an account of this place; 2 of those fell in my wayting weeke.

<sup>a</sup> Sent by Charles as his agent to Madrid, where he remained till after the Restoration. Secretary of State in Oct. 1662, and created Baron Arlington, 1663, and Earl of Arlington, 1672.

<sup>b</sup> See vol. i. p. xii. She was buried at Winterbourne Earls, 7 Mar. 1658 (Egert MS. 2558, f. 33).

1657.

In which time I had not a place to retire to, nor time to write, for attending on the King. And in truth there was not much to say nor is there yet, vnlesse I should entertaine you with the balls wee haue seene, the visits wee haue made and that haue been made to vs, and with other litle cerimonys which, how necessary soeuer they may bee, importe very litle the maine of our busines, in which yet the King hath made a hopefull entrance at two conferences hee had with Don Juan. What hee hopes to obtaine in the present is a prouision of millitary necessarys to bee layd in and ready to bee imployd vpon any oportunity that may bee offered, the drawing near the sea his owne troopes and shuch as shall bee destined to bee ioynd to them, and the puting of his owne troopes into a beter condition. How farr these reasonable expectations will bee assented to I can not say; but I hope some will bee presently complyd with and the rest as farr, and as soone, as there shall bee possibillity for it. Their owne streights are certainly great or els they could not withstand the importunity with which they are prest for money for the King, and which it is euident to them hee stands in so much neede of. But I hope it will not be long before the summ destined for the King in Spaine will arriue, and then wee shall bee free from the necessity of importuning them that are not in case to help us, then which there can not bee a more troublesome employment. Wee haue reason to beleue that the French designe to atack Flanders this yeare by a coniunction with Cromwell . . . .

Your most affectionate humble seruant,  
ORMONDE.

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MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.

GOOD M<sup>r</sup>. SECRETARY,

Brusels, 19 April, 1657.

. . . . The leter you sent me enclosed with yours of the 16 was from M<sup>r</sup> Roper, whos busines at Viena I feare is at an end by

f. 128.

1657. the Emperors<sup>a</sup> death, which was on Easter Monday. I feare it will haue a very ill effect vpon the whole frame of the Spanish affaires; and consequently it may bee doubted our masters may in some degree suffer by it. There was no doubt a great disposition towards a League amongst the Princes of Italy against France, to which the countenance and armys of the Emperour gaue no small encouragement, and the French affaires were little lesse then desperate there, as was vpon the mater acknowledged by themselves. How this change may produce disorder in Germany and disapoynt that League in Italy is easier to feare then foresee. I doe not conceiue the makeing of Cromwell king to bee any step towards his makeing a peace with Spaine; but I confesse shuch a peace is the only thing to bee feared, because the warr betweext them is the only visible foundation wee haue to build vpon. Yet I see not how hee can make any offers of aduantage to Spaine but they must at the same time bee hurtfull to France and contrary to his league offensiue and defensiu. I doubt not but that the preparations made by Cromwell on the coasts haue an aspect as well towards his owne security as the assistance of France; but it pleases God sumtimes to turne that to the ruine of wicked persons which they proiect for their safty. That the people are generally displeasd I easily beleue, but they write sencelessly that say the expectation of the Kings landing with forces hath hindered them from falling vpon Cromwell and his Parliament, since, as there was no hope giuen them of it or that it could bee imagined the King was in state to atempt an inuasion purely vpon foraigne strength, so the posture hee was in to second any atempt in England (to which the lying still is ascribed) was the greatest incouragement they could haue to bee doing.

For ought I know, or I thinke the King, Mr. Brunkard<sup>b</sup> came

<sup>a</sup> Ferdinand III., who died 2 April, not on Easter Monday (30 Mar.).

<sup>b</sup> Henry Brouncker, 3rd Viscount Brouncker, 1684. See Hyde to Nicholas, 1<sup>st</sup> Apr., "Mr. Brunkard has been and has gone back and, though he was said to be

post vpon his owne busines, though I finde in Holland it is otherwyse beleued; if hee had any other, I wish it may prooue of importance suteable to the hast and secrecy. This accident of the Emperours death, besides other inconueniencys, brings allready vpon the King some stop in his proceedings heare till the formality of mourning and what els is to bee donne in shuch cases bee ouer. I can not thinke Cromwell will dare to set vp any thing like Bishoppes, though hee may cast out baites at this time to all sortes of persons that may bee calld a party. Your leters are very welcome and much desired by

1657.

Your most affectionate humble seruant,  
ORMONDE.

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MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.

GOOD MR. SECRETARY,

Brusels, 25 April, 57.

. . . . It is here accounted a great prouidence that the Arch-Duke<sup>a</sup> should haue bin so earnest as hee was to bee remooud from this gouernment, by which meanes hee was vpon the place at his brothers death, and that, it is hoped, will contribute much towards the quiet of Germany and the prosecution of what was designd by the Emperour. I thinke I haue reason to beleue Cromwells taking vpon him the title of King will not enduce a peace with Spaine, at least till an effort haue bin made by vs to vnhors him, whereas, if wee preuaile but so farr as to keepe vp a warr, there will be no danger of it. But I will not answer what may follow if wee faile vterly, because I beleue (I had almost sayd I hope) I shall not then bee aliue. It is euident to

f. 130.

sent to the King, his Majesty knows no more of his business than you do" (*Cal. St. Papers*, 1656-57, p. 336).

<sup>a</sup> Leopold William, late Governor of the Spanish Netherlands, regent for his nephew the Archduke Leopold, King of Hungary, who was only seventeen years of age, and was not eligible for election as Emperor until he was eighteen. For the intrigues during the interval until his unanimous election on 18 July, 1658, see Firth, *Last Years of the Protectorate*, ii. pp. 245-54.

1657. vs by very probable intelligence that Cromwell will assist France this field against this country, but in what proportion or whether with men to bee landed or only with the countenance of ships and furnishing of prouisions is not so cleere as yet. If hee land men, it will bee for the Kings honour and for the aduantage of these here that his Ma<sup>tie</sup> appear personally, and I hope prouision will bee made not only for that but for encourageing officers and comon men to come from the rebells to serue him. I feare that, notwithstanding the vnusuall proceedings with the French at Amsterdam and for all Borels<sup>a</sup> demanding leaue to depart, ther will bee an accomodation betweext that Crowne and that State, and that by the interuention of Cromwell, who is concerned in keepeing them friends.

If I had time to write in cypher to you, I could tell you the King hath found more reason for his proceeding with my Lord Balcaris then hee knew of when you warnd him from the Court. Wee speake not yet of our returne, which can not bee till mony be got. I hope the Marquis of Caracenas<sup>b</sup> goeing to Antwerp will remooue that rub.

Your most affectionate humble seruant,  
 ORMONDE.

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MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.

GOOD MR. SECRETARY,

Brusels, 2 May, 1657.

f. 133. . . . . It is acknowledged that, as particular interest is the principall insentiuie to all leagues made of late betweext Princes, so that made by the King of Spaine with the King our Master<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Willem Boreel, Dutch ambassador at Paris (vol. iii. p. 285).

<sup>b</sup> Luiz de Benavides, Marquis de Caracena, commanding the Spanish forces under Don John (vol. iii. p. 268).

<sup>c</sup> Signed 12 April, 1657, and ratified by Philip IV. 5 June. Spain agreed to furnish Charles with 4000 foot and 2000 horse for his projected invasion of England.

wanted not that ingredient on both sides; for, if the mater be reflected on, perhaps it will bee found it was not choyce but necessity that hath cast vs vpon Spaine, and that they might beter haue past by vs then wee by them. Yet, when a league is once made, it becomes to bee the interest of both partys not to break it, since that would haue perhaps wors consequences then the present aduantage would recompence by rendring the allyance of the faileing syde lesse valueable to all times and states. I can not say the King of Spaine hath made all those declareations of his intention to assist the King that were fit and to bee wisht; but I can not say nether that there hath non bin made, for the instrument concerning the portes, if I remember right, though it bee narrower then I thinke it should haue bin, yet containes an expression that the K. of Spaine is resolved to assist our Master against his rebells, and if the King shall haue an army march and act vnder his name, conduct and comissions, it is not a very insignificant, though it bee not a pompous, acknowledgement of him. After all this I want not my feares of the poynt you apprehend, but I looke vpon it as a remoter danger and that can not come vpon vs till once some thing shall haue bin attempted for and by vs. I can not thinke the Cardinall will content himself with shuch a freebooteing assistance from Cromwell as that you mention, the aduantage whereof by diuersion or otherwyse will not counteruail the charge. I would I could beleue what your intelligence says of Lamberts speech in their Parliament, but I feare, though what is fatherd vpon him bee most reasonable, yet hee wanted the spirit to say it. When the King shall finde fit to publish that wherevpon the L. Balcaris was comanded from court, hee may also add the rest to it, if there shall not bee a more important reason for concealeing it then can bee counteruaild by the satisfaction of strangers. There is noe possitiue resolution taken by his Matie as yet for his goeing into the field, though hee bee much disposd to it, but sure hee will first goe to Bruges, if hee should goe to the field. Don Juan goes to

1657. Antwerp tomorow or on Friday. I suppose his busines is so well prepar'd by the Marquis of Caracena that his stay will not bee long, and that the King will haue good by the jurny. I am, Sir,  
Your most affectionate humble seruant,  
ORMONDE.

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MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.

GOOD MR. SECRETARY,

Antwerp, 15 May, 1657.

f. 135.

I haue receiued yours of the 5<sup>th</sup> and 9 of this month here, where I haue bin euer since Saturday was senight, following some affaires of the Kings and some of my owne in refference to my regiment.<sup>a</sup> That which concearn'd the King was concerning the disposing of his troopes till his Ma<sup>tie</sup> shall haue opertunity to imploy them in his more imediate seruice and for obtaining some suply of mony for him to redeeme him from those miserable streights hee is in; and though I charged not my self with this last, yet I haue not forborne to say in it what I thought fit for mee. But to tell you true (though I thinke wee are not to bragg of it publicly), I am not much satisfied in ether, though more in the mater of the troopes then in that of mony. It is euident that any aduantage wee are to expect from Spaine must bee negotiated there, and what euer mony can bee obtaind must bee put out of the reach of these ministers, and in the meane time I know no remedy but patience. The great paquet I trouble you with (but for which Coll. Grace,<sup>b</sup> if you bee wyse, will pay)

<sup>a</sup> One of the four Irish regiments which in addition to the King's own English regiment and a Scottish regiment were raised abroad for the projected Royalist expedition to England. For their history see a paper by Prof. Firth, "Royalist and Cromwellian Armies in Flanders," in *Trans. of the Roy. Hist. Soc.*, N.S. xvii. 1903, p. 67.

<sup>b</sup> Col. Richard Grace, who had served in Ireland until he was forced to capitulate on 14 Aug. 1652. He retired to Spain and afterwards entered the French service, which he left on the alliance between England and France in 1655 and followed the Duke of York into the service of Spain. He commanded Ormonde's regiment at the battle of the Dunes.

is for the remooue of 14 companys of my regiment to new and, I hope, beter quarters; the other regiments will haue the like fauour as the Spanish troopes shall bee drawen to the frontiers.

1657

I doe not finde that Don Juans negotiation here with the monyed men hath taken the effect hee expected, yet hee is this day remooueing to Brusels, whether the King and the Duke of Yorke are remited for satisfaction in their seuerall pretentions. On Saturday last, as I thinke, D. Step. de Gomora,<sup>a</sup> the Ambassador to Holland, came hether and, though hee speakes not confidently of a rupture betweext that State and France, yet hee seemes exceedingly to hope it. . . .

I am, Sir,

Your most affectionate humble seruant,

ORMONDE.

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MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.

GOOD MR. SECRETARY,

Brusels, 3 Aug., 1657.

f. 138.

I haue yours of the 1 with the materiall aduertisments from Paris, which I shewd his Matie last night. Notwithstanding the new disorder betweext France and Holland, I haue litle hope that it will come to a rupture shuch as may draw on a breach with England, which can only doe vs good. I doe not thinke the discontent<sup>b</sup> of Lambert is acted or that Cromwell would bee content it should bee vpon the point of refusing the oath, but I feare it will ether bee pacified or tamely endeurd by Lambert. I am confident a great parte if not all the fleete in the Downes was

<sup>a</sup> Don Esteban de Gamarra. His efforts to bring about a rupture are alluded to in a letter of John Somer to Thurloe, 1<sup>st</sup> May, (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 287).

<sup>b</sup> Shown by his opposition to Cromwell's taking the title of King and by his refusal of the oath imposed by Parliament 24 June, 1657, on all members of the Council, etc. He was deprived of his commission as Major-General and of all his other commissions on 16 July. See Firth, *Last Years of the Protectorate*, i. p. 132, ii. p. 4.

1657. designd to countenance the siege of some sea port in Flanders, but it is like enough it may bee imployd northward, if the French bee not able to attempt the other, as, if Montmedy<sup>a</sup> should out a litle longer, they will not bee this yeare. By a negligence of which my man Delues and I are both guilty I haue burnt your cypher amongst other papers, so that I can make nothing of the leter you sent me. Sir H. Benetts is also destroyd.

Your most affectionate humble seruant,  
ORMONDE.

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SIR E. NICHOLAS.

TO SIR HEN. BENNET.

3 Aug. 1657, N.S.

Add. 4180,  
f. 135.

I have now received yours of the 3<sup>d</sup> of July, being the 3<sup>d</sup> letter I have had from you since your departure. Indeed the Chancellor hath shewed me 3 of those you long since wrote him and tells me he will look out some other of yours to shew me. But it is not much material for me (who am acquainted but with pieces) to see all your dispatches, and the truth is I am not curious to know more than is thought fit for me to be acquainted with, and I hope there will not be so much expected from me as from those who, being privy to all transactions and having engrossed all intelligence from England, are intrusted with the sole management of affairs, which I say to you in freedom. Not that I grudge any man that hath more trust reposed in him, or that I am ambitious of having more to do than is thought requisite, but to excuse myself that I am not able to give you fuller and more particular advertisements in matters importing your negotiation. And I shall however not forbear to do my duty therein so far as my line reaches, for I well know it is not only a prejudice to the K's service but a disparagement to his Majesty's public ministers not to be informed with what passes in relation to the K's business.

The K. of England is still at Brussels, having not received any

<sup>a</sup> Besieged by Maréchal de la Ferté and taken 6 Aug.

part of the money so long since promised, and it is now evident to all but those that will not see that the delay in payment of that money proceeds from the unwillingness of the Spanish Ministers to have the K. come into the field.

1657.

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

From Bruges, 5 Sept. 1657.

I am no less troubled at the inexcusable neglect of his Majesty than for his being disappointed of the money promised. But till the K. shall himself take more majesty on him he will always, and from all these peoples, find every day more and more neglect and disesteem, for they abhor the ridiculous freedom of the French, which makes no distinction of persons. I wish the K. would set a better value on himself and not use familiarity with persons of so much inferior quality. But that is not to be said to him by any but yourself and those that have most credit with him and who are most in his confidence.<sup>a</sup>

TO SIR EDW. HYDE.

10 Sept. 1657.

All letters from England affirm that Cromwell is now absolutely master of all England and secure against all intestine opposition; and, if so, there will be little hope for the K. to do much good in order to his Restoration untill that villain shall be knockt in the head. And therefore, if the K. of Spain had once declared publicly by some act in print for his Majesty's interest, I conceive his Majesty should do well to set a good price on his head, and all the heads of the chief commanders in Ireland and also in Scotland, and all that I have ever heard alledged against it are rather fond fancies, by which we are too much led, than solid reasons.<sup>b</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> Hyde's answer, 7 Sept., is in *Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 362.

<sup>b</sup> "You and I shall never differ in opinion in what should be done with or against Cromwell, yet there will or may be very honest and very wise men who dissent from us in the particular you mention and give very solid reasons for doing so, which will not deserve to be thought fond fancies, which (how prevalent

1657.

## MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.

GOOD MR. SECRETARY,

Brussels, 24 Sept. 1657.

Eg. 2536,  
f. 147.

I haue yours of the 19, 20 and 21 of this month and in that of the 19 leters from my sonnes, of whos ariueall at Paris I had notice the Teusday before from my sister Muskry.<sup>a</sup> I am glad they are on this side the sea, though they tell mee that, as soone as the stock their mother gaue them is spent, they must expect their further suply from mee, which it will bee hard for mee to prouide, espetially at the distance they must liue from mee. If wee could bee together, I might perhaps run on the score for them, as I haue don for myself for all I haue eate, drunke and worne euer since I came hether.

His Matie approoues of your proceeding in the mater of Crisp,<sup>b</sup> but hee was once inclining to the banishment of Cooxy, supposeing him to bee very poore and that hee would bee a charge to him; but being since informd that hee has a good stock of mony in England and friends that are rich, it renders him lesse worthy of compassion, and besides it is doubted hee may haue to much knowledge of some of the Kings friends in England to bee trusted loose. For Liut<sup>nt</sup> Rose, his Matie knowes him not and therefore desires to bee inform'd what hee is, and what his relations and former cours of life hath bin, that hee may thereupon order what hee would further haue donne with him. You haue donne very

soever in human life) I do not know do much lead us," Hyde's answer, 13 Sept. (*Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 364).

<sup>a</sup> Eleanor Butler, wife of Donogh Maccarty, Viscount Muskerry, created Earl of Clancarty in 1658.

<sup>b</sup> Henry Crispe, a "rich fellow" in the Isle of Thanet, was seized by Capt. Lendall (vol. iii. p. 140) and other Royalists and carried off to Bruges for ransom (Hyde to Ormonde, 1 Aug., *Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 354; see alsoa petition from Sir Nicholas Crispe, his son, to the Protector, 27 Aug., *Cal. St. Pap.* 1657-58, p. 80). Edward Cooksey and others offered to aid his escape, but he himself revealed the plot to the King's Council (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 362). The depositions of Cooksey and Lieut. Richard Rose are in *Cal. St. Pap.* p. 97.

well so quietly to take up the quarell you mention, of which, since it is past, the King will take no notice, but resolves to bee very seuer with any that belongs to him, when they fall into shuch disorders.

1657.

His Matie would haue you thanke Mon<sup>r</sup> d'Ogniate<sup>a</sup> for the information he giues him of the conspiracy of greater importance, assuring him that, as hee is very glad of his happy escape from the ambush layd for him, so hee will take no notice of the plot till it shall bee publique, as it begins to bee in the generall, for yesterday I heard Mr. Elliot and Mr. Cartret speake of it. When wee would send to the army, wee send by Bruges, so that you will expect no newse hence concerning it. Betweext the Court and the Financiers the King is kept without any suply or, for ought I see, without any hope of sudaine releef. I do not remember that euer in any place I knew him and those that depend on him in so miserable a condition. God mend it.

Your most affectionate humble seruant,

ORMONDE.

SIR E. NICHOLAS.

To SIR EDW. HYDE.

5 Octob. 1657.

It is past all understanding that the K. should be thus unreasonably kept from receiving the money which is ready for him merely for want of orders. . . . We are not sensible enough of our afflictions, but endeavour to spend our days in pleasure, while the hand of God is on us, which prolongs our punishment.<sup>b</sup>

Add. 4180,  
f. 136.

To SIR H. BENNET.

1<sup>st</sup> Octob. 1657.

My letters from England say that the Levellers are (since Lambert's giving up so tamely his commissions) strangely disheartened and divided, so as not one of them gives a good word

<sup>a</sup> Burgomaster of Bruges (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 309).

For Hyde's answer, 8 Oct., see *Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 372.

1657. of the other. Col. Courten saith Major Wildman<sup>a</sup> is a juggler and Sexby saith Wildman hath brought him into the condition he is, being a prisoner in the Tower<sup>b</sup>; and Wildman saith Sexby is a knave. Wildman, who hath oft been here with some of the Spanish ministers, saith he hath discovered that the K. of Spain hath no affection for the K. of England and that what he doth is only for his own ends, and that he is confident that at present there is some underhand dealing between the K. of Spain and Cromwell. All this being advertised me by a very honest and intelligent person in England, I would not omit to acquaint you, that you may there make your own use and observation on it. If Sexby and Wildman and the Levellers are so false, then Don Alonso<sup>c</sup> and the other of the Spanish ministers that relied on them are much mistaken in their measures concerning the affairs in England, and I assure you in all my observations the Levellers have ever appeared very false, when they have come to the touchstone.

TO MR. ROPER.

31 Octob. 1657, N.S.

- f. 137. As concerning Col. Bampfield,<sup>d</sup> I pray be pleased to let Prince Rupert understand that I am assured by very good intelligences that that Col. is employed by Cromwell at Francfort and in those parts of Germany.

<sup>a</sup> Major John Wildman, the Leveller, who had been released from the Tower at the end of June, 1656.

<sup>b</sup> He was arrested 24 July, as he was about to embark for Flanders, and died in the Tower 13 Jan. 1658. For his confession see Firth, *Last Years of the Protectorate*, i. p. 233.

<sup>c</sup> Alonso de Cardenas, late Spanish ambassador in England.

<sup>d</sup> Col. Joseph Bampfield, whose treachery is evident from his letters in Thuroloe's *State Papers*.

## MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.

1657.

GOOD MR. SECRETARY,

Dunkyrke, 1 Nov. 1657.

My Lord of Bristol will haue satisfid the Chauncellor that there was no iest intended, but that really the King thought his beeing here at this time most necessary, as in truth it may bee it is, if it could consist as well with his good Ladys apprehension as it may doe with his helth, if it bee good when hee sets forth, otherwyse I would not answer for it. For certainly this is full as helthy a place as where hee is and all the deseases that haue fallen vpon men here haue proceeded more from their sufferings in the campagne and from the sicklynes of the season eury where then from any peculiar malignety in this aire. But my lord of Bristol, if hee instruct himself well there, will bee best able to excuse his comeing. The English haue of late wrought so hard at Mardyke<sup>a</sup> that wee resolute to interrupt them and demolish as much as wee can of what they haue donne this night.<sup>b</sup> I beleue there may bee some broken heads about it.

Eg. 2536,  
f. 154.

I am

Your most affectionate humble seruant,

ORMONDE.

SIR E. NICHOLAS.

TO MR. ROPER.

7 Novemb. N.S.

I am very confident that his Majesty will be very satisfied with your generous and prudent carriage in that troublesome insolence offered you by Col. Bampffield, whose being employed by Cromwell or Thurloe is most certainly assured his Majesty.

Add. 4180,  
f. 137.

<sup>a</sup> Mardyke had been taken by Turenne 2 Oct., and according to treaty had been handed over to the English.

<sup>b</sup> The attack was made, but was repulsed with the aid of the fire from the English ships in the harbour. Ormonde had his horse killed under him. See Firth, *Last Years of the Protectorate*, i. p. 286.

1657.

## CHARLES II. TO PRINCE RUPERT.

DEARE COUSEN,

Dunquerque, 12 Novemb., 1657.

Eg. 2536,  
f. 155.

I am informed by Mr. Roper that Bamphield hath had the impudence to apply himselfe to you, which, when I assure you vppon my certaine knowledge that he is a spy from Cromwell, I am sure you will not pardon him, but on the contrary assist Mr. Roper in vindicating the insolencies he hath doone to me in him. I haue written to the Elector of Mentz and the Duke of Neuburg, who, I am confident, will concurre with you in this; and as for my Lord Jermyn, I shall thanke him for his worthy recommendation.<sup>a</sup> I need say no more vppon this subject, but desire you to beleeeue I am, Deare Cousin,

Your most affectionat Cousin,

C. R.

For my deare Cousin,  
Prince Rupert.

*Copy.*

## CHARLES II. TO THE ELECTOR OF MAINZ.

MONSIEUR MON COUSIN,

f. 156.

J'ay receu tant de marques de vostre amitie et de la part que vous prenes en mes interests que dans ce qui les regarde Je m'adresse tousjours a vous avec asseurance d'en recevoir tousjours de mesme. Il s'en offre presentement vne occasion qui semble petite, mais dont les consequences peuuent estre grandes au bien de mes affaires. Cest quil y a vn gentilhomme maintenant a Francfort appellé le Sr. Bamphield, le quel, apres auoir esté chassé du service du Duc de Yorke mon Frere pour des dangereuses pratiques, les a redoublees depuis, et enfin s'est rendu espion de Cromwell et, apres auoir exercé ce mestier asses

<sup>a</sup>Jermyn's letter recommending Bamphield to Prince Rupert is in *Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 358.

long temps en France, s'est chargé de le faire encore plus vtilement a la Diete, et s'y estant transporté pour cet effect il a eu l'effronterie de faire des insolences au Sr. Roper mon Ministre qui est la, qui auoit esté adverty de ma part du dessein que cette dangereuse personne y auoit. Et mon dit Ministre m'ayant fait connoistre qu'a moins de se trouuer bien appuyé dans le desmele avec cet homme la il n'en pourra pas tirer raison ne se precautionner contre les mauuais effects dun si dangereux espion, qui a de l'insinuation et de l'adresse esgallee a sa meschanceté, Je vous fais cellecy pour vous prier avec instance de vouloir contribuer par vostre prudence et autorité a que le dit Bamphield soit chastié de son insolence envers mon Ministre et, s'il y auoit moien, qu'on s'asseurast de sa personne en attendant qu'on eust lieu de le produire a la justice. C'est en quoy vous adjousteries vne obligation tres sensible a tant d'autres que Je vous ay desia et dont Je retiendray tousjours la reconnoissance qui appartient à,

Monsieur mon Cousin,  
Vostre tres affectionné Cousin,  
C. R.

*Copy.*

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SIR E. NICHOLAS.

TO MR. ROPER.

11 Novemb. 1657.

The French nation abhor the league made by the Cardinal with Cromwell, but the Cardinal hath done it for his own ends and merely to continue by his means and assistance the war with Spain, which without the help of Cromwell and the King of Swede he could not carry on so well as he hath done, and the latter being now so very low the Cardinal will cherish Cromwell the more.

Add. 4180,  
f. 137b.

1657.

COL. THOMAS BLAGGE,<sup>a</sup>

SIR,

Dixmude, this first of December.

Eg. 2536,  
f. 162.

I had yours with the instruments and atestations I desird, and wonder at the cautione his Mat<sup>y</sup> giues that I should make noe use of that, but in case of nessesity, which allowes me to make the officers. Truly I neuer intended to make other use of it then to preuent the burgers cheatinge us of the pay of the officers, nor ment to imploye any part of that aduantage to other end then the clothinge his Mat<sup>ys</sup> men, which if I can by that meanes doe, I hope his Mat<sup>y</sup> will not be displeased. For other use of that authority I renounce it, for in the whole regiment I pretend only to the choyce of thre, which his Mat<sup>y</sup> has longe since consented to me, a company for my brother, my owne leutinantis place for Barker, and my owne ensigne for Mr. Pooley, son to Sir John Poolye, whoe hath bin in England, Scotland and Irland in his saruice euer since he was twelue years old and is now about one and twenty. This is all I pretend to and all the use I shall make of that order. For Mr. Tirrill, you may beleieue I shall use him nor his men worse then I haue done, nor can he say I haue excepte in the last distribution of his Mat<sup>ys</sup> bounty, which only was giuen to his owne regiment, of which he is non that I know of, and if his men had had any part of that, his Mat<sup>ys</sup> regiment would not haue had the doller a man his Mat<sup>y</sup> intended them. I haue my selfe as yet not seene a peny, and if any be to complayn, it is myselfe. I hope his Mat<sup>y</sup> will heare me before he concludes to my preiudice, and if in all things and to all men I doe not my duty, I shall most willingly submit. To Mr. Chanceler I haue sent my Lord of Bristolls letter, and can only say that in the generall he semes to be very hopfull. Pray

<sup>a</sup>Or Blague, Gentleman of the Bedchamber (*Cal. St. Pap.* 1657-58, p. 201) and Lieut.-Colonel of the King's regiment of Guards (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* iii. pp. 368, 379), which he commanded at the battle of the Dunes. A draft of a warrant empowering him to appoint all his officers, 28 Oct. 1657, is in Eg. 2536, f. 159.

God send us all once ashore in oure owne cuntrey, that I may  
 haue the honour to tell you at Salsbery that I am, Sir, 1657.  
 Your most humble faithfull saruant,  
 THO. BLAGGE.

SIR HENRY DE VIC.<sup>a</sup>

RIGHT HO<sup>b</sup>le,

. . . . My letters from Holland of the 27 of the last make it  
 not impossible that wee may yet see a second breach betweene  
 them and Cromwell. The States are reinforcing their milicia  
 with a thousand men. Cromwell sends 1400 men into Jutland  
 to the succor of the King of Sweden, wherof parte are already  
 landed there, as it is conceiued. Newport<sup>b</sup> was expected daily;  
 and a declaration is in hande ready to come out att the Hagh of  
 a reiglement concerning the warr against the warr (*sic*), as well  
 in regard of the States subiects as strangers. There is as yet no  
 certainty of the taking of the sugar fleete, though the commander  
 de Witt was come back from the fleete in the Riuer of Lisbonn.  
 And so I kiss your hands and remaine

f. 165.

Your most humble seruant,

[H. DE VIC].

Brussels, this Sunday in  
 the euening, 2 Dec. 1657.

SIR EDW. NICHOLAS.

TO SIR H. BENNET.

7 Decemb. 1657.

I have no reason but to wish Sir John Berkley well, but I  
 may tell you I much doubt that so sudden a change from being  
 expulsed the K's court to be (at least in outward appearanee)  
 taken into his bosom and confidence will (I fear) reflect with  
 some prejudice on his Majesty's judgment, unless there were

Add. 4180,  
 f. 137b.

<sup>a</sup> Royalist Resident at Brussels (vol. i. p. 136). His letters are unsigned.

<sup>b</sup> Willem Nieupoort, Dutch Ambassador to England.

1657. some more public evidence of Sir John's real change than I have yet heard of or observed.

I am not sanguine enough to believe, if the K. of Spain make difficulty to declare by some manifest that he hath made a league with the K. of England and will endeavour his Majesty's Restoration, that he will enable him with a competent force to land in England.

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PERCY CHURCH.<sup>a</sup>

RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup>,

This 7 of Dec<sup>br</sup>. 1657.

Eg. 2536,  
f. 167.

. . . . The Duke of Buckingham<sup>b</sup> business goes, I beleeeue, not so well as I formerly mentioned, for it hath bine write mee from London, No<sup>r</sup>. the  $\frac{16}{26}$ , that the Lord Farfax receaues no satisfaction in his negotiation for his sonn in law, and that strickt inquiryes hath bine made for his Grace, whereupon y<sup>e</sup> young Dutchess and her father haue put themselues in mourning. And yet one Mons<sup>r</sup> Brauoe, a dauncing master, that came from his good sister to this towne Wedsonday last, says that the young Dutchess is with child. My letter also tells that the Lord Faulkenbrige<sup>c</sup> is to marry Cromwells other daughter, and that it was first proposed by Mr. Howard of y<sup>e</sup> North,<sup>d</sup> and 'tis looked vpon as y<sup>e</sup> fittest expedient to secure y<sup>e</sup> peace of the Northerne parts. That there is something ells in *Col. Tukes*<sup>e</sup> stay from England then what

<sup>a</sup> See vol. ii. p. 240.

<sup>b</sup> He had returned to England during the summer in the hope of recovering his estates and married Mary, daughter of Lord Fairfax, on 7 Sept. His arrest was ordered by the Council on 9 Oct., but up to this time he had eluded capture.

<sup>c</sup> Thomas Belasyse, 2nd Viscount Fauconberg. His marriage with Mary, Cromwell's third daughter, took place on 19 Nov.

<sup>d</sup> Charles Howard of Naworth, created Earl of Carlisle, 1661; Major-General of Northumberland, Cumberland and Westmoreland in Oct. 1655, and one of Cromwell's peers in Dec. 1657.

<sup>e</sup> Samuel Tuke, made a baronet in 1664. Queen Henrietta Maria, 26 Sept. 1657, recommended him for secretary to the Duke of York, but the King refused (*Cal. Cl. St. Pap.* iii. pp. 365, 370).

nee said I beleene will at last appeare to some pourpose, *when Secretary to Duke Yorke or in your parts, for thither I heare he was invited* and vpon no small assurances of a good subsistance; *but that is a great secret*, and so pray let it continue. The Lord Powis his grandchild <sup>a</sup> married y<sup>e</sup> now Marquis of Wourcesters daughter, and yesterday they parted from this towne towards Rouen, from whence I suppose they intend shortly for England. The great allarum wee lately haue had of Mardykes beeing besieged, or at least designed, hath caused about 150 horseguards to bee dispatched thither to quarter, the French beleeuing that Don Juan's progress is to raise a speedie leuie in the townes for that purpose, whilst the D. of Yorke remains at Dunkerke. *Sir H. Bennets confidence of Mr. de Marcis* <sup>b</sup> doeth not satisfie mee, nor would I haue it to doe Your Honour, but when necessity requiers and then warely. . . .

1657.

*Unsigned; endorsed by Nicholas, Mr. P. Ch.*

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#### PERCY CHURCH.

RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup>,

This 14 of Dec<sup>br</sup>. 1657.

. . . . This night I receaued a letter from London dated y<sup>e</sup>  $\frac{23}{3}$  current, which tells that, the Lord Farfax hauing then lately pressed in behaulfe of y<sup>e</sup> Duke of Buckingham, Cromwell replied that his Lordship was both an accepted (*i.e.* excepted) and banished person by y<sup>e</sup> Parliament and that therefore his Lordship was to expect y<sup>e</sup> next sitting of Parliament; but notwithstanding this answere strickt search hath bine made for y<sup>e</sup> Duke and particularly in y<sup>e</sup> Dutchesses chamber and bed, whilst shee was in it, at Yorke Howse, and this your Honour may bee confident is

f. 175b.

<sup>a</sup> William Herbert, created Earl of Powis, 1674, and Marquis of Powis, 1687. According to Cockayne's *Complete Peerage*, vi. p. 295, he was son, not grandson, of Percy, Lord Powis (1656-1667), and he married Elizabeth Somerset, daughter of the Marquis of Worcester, 2 Aug. 1654.

<sup>b</sup> M. Marcés, of the French Post Office, a Royalist agent, whose services in opening and communicating letters were highly useful (vol. i. p. 231, note).

1657. most true, as also that the Lord Faulkenbridge was marryed few dayes after Mr. Rich<sup>a</sup> to Cromwells other daughter at Hampton Court to auoyd y<sup>e</sup> trouble and ceremonies as were vsed at Mr. Riches wedding. . . .

*Unsigned.*

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JOHN BALL.<sup>b</sup>

RIGHT HONORABLE,

- f. 178. Since my last of the 8 instant I haue aduice from Copenhagen that Meddoues<sup>c</sup> haith often priuat audience by that Kinge, in soe much as he writes he doth hope at the last to bring one the treaty, althoughe as yet he haith noe promise of it from the Kinge, and most men there are of the opinion that at the last it will come to nothing. The Kinge of Denmarke makes great preparations against the spring, and haith giuen out commissions for the raysinge of 12,000 strangers, if to be had. He haith made Sir Francis Edmunds gouernour of the Iland of Layland,<sup>d</sup> and Sir John Henderson commands the infanterie in the Iland of Funen, whoe haith orders to take on all strangers that will serue. Soe what the Kinge intends concerning the treaty I know not, but I beleeeue he wilbe in a good condition to take the feild the next spring. Since my last the Sweds haue had a designe vpon Lubecke, but wheather it was really intended ore by the vigilancy of the cittize[n]s preuented I know not; but the Magistrats of that citty gaue this towne notice of it, and desired them that they would

<sup>a</sup> Robert Rich, grandson and heir of the Earl of Warwick, married Cromwell's fourth daughter, Frances, 11 Nov. 1657. From an account of his wedding, quoted in Burnet's *Hist. of My Own Time*, ed. Airy, i. p. 150, note, it appears that "they had 48 violins and 50 trumpets and much mirth with frolics, besides mixt dancing (a thing heretofore accounted profane), till 5 of the clock in the morning." He died 16 Feb. 1658.

<sup>b</sup> Royalist agent at Hamburg.

<sup>c</sup> Philip Meadowe, Latin Secretary to the English Council, sent as Envoy to Frederick III. of Denmark in Sept. 1657 to mediate between Denmark and Sweden.

<sup>d</sup> Laaland, south-east of Funen.

1657.

haue a care of this citty for that the Sweds had begunn ther marche towards it. This intelligence putt the Commons into a jealousy, in soe much that contrary to the will of the Magistrats the citisens doe march vpe euery day to the gards about 1400 men, and they tould the lords that it was for the preservation of there estats, wiues and families and that they had more to loose then the lords had. At 8 of the clocke at night the streets are all chained vpe, and after 9 noe body must walke in the streets without a light. Mr. Muller, that is the eldest Burgomaster and doth in a manner command this citty, haith a brother that liues in this place, whoe is Resident of State for the Kinge of Sweden, which the towne doth not conceaue to be fitting, by reason he is a citizen of this place. These things cause great jealousies in this place, which makes them beginn to rayse two tropes of horse, which is very requisite, for the Sweds doe stripe all men euen to the walls of the citty. One Saterdag last the Sweds marched from Pinnenberg, being 6 English miles from hence. They giue out that they will beseige Rensberg, a very strong place; but it is beleueed that, if they will attempt any thinge this winter, it wilbe Luckestat. But these places cannot be lost but by trechery ore by beinge cowards. It doth freeze heere exceeding hard and, if it shall soe continue, the Belt wilbe frozen; which if it should soe happen, I beleuee the Sweds will make an attempt vpon the Iland of Funen,<sup>a</sup> which I thinke they dare not doe by botes. The Duke of Lunenberg hath recaled his army out of the Stift of Breme. The reason of it, as is reported, was a letter that he receaued from the Elector of Brandenburg, whoe, they say, wrot him that, if he did not withdraw his army, he would protest against him. Yet the Sweds doe want (*i.e.* vaunt) very high

<sup>a</sup> Having stormed Fredriksodde, opposite the island of Funen, 3 Nov. 1657, and made himself master of all Jutland, Charles X. led his forces across the frozen Little Belt, 30 Jan. 1658, and thence from island to island into Zealand, the southern shore of which he reached on 11 Feb. He was already close to Copenhagen when peace was concluded by the treaty of Roeskilde, 27 Feb. See Firth, *Last Years of the Protectorate*, i. p. 316, ii. pp. 224-27.

1657. that the Elector is their freind<sup>a</sup> and that there wilbe shortly by his meanes a peace concluded betwixt them and the Kinge and Crowne of Poland. But I cannot beleue this. The English soldiers that I gaue your Honnor notice of were ariued in the Elue proue to belonge to Sir William Vaumosor.<sup>b</sup> They are now in Stoade. The regiment consists of 250 men; some say they are almost 300. For the raysing of them he had 12,000 dollers. Sir Georg Fleetwod<sup>c</sup> wee beleue are lost. They were reported to be 700. They set sayle from London 5 weekes since and were driuen by contrary winds into Harwiche, and wee haue had notice from London three weekes since that they were againe sett sayle, but heer is noe newes of ther landing as yet in any place, and heer haith bin exceeding stormy weather. All Sir Williams ould officers that went for England to rayse these men are remaining in England, and not one of them is come with him. Sir William Layton is with Fleetwod's soldiers. I shall allwaise remaine

Your Honours most humble and  
obediand seruant,

JOHN BALL.

Hamburg, this 15 of December, 1657.

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SIR HENRY DE VIC.

RIGHT HOble,

f. 180.

. . . . You haue likewise understood how an English fregate calld the "Pembrock" meeting with Opdam att sea saluted him

<sup>a</sup> Frederic William, Elector of Brandenburg, made an alliance with Denmark, Feb. 1658.

<sup>b</sup> He was killed in the Swedish assault upon Copenhagen, March, 1659 (Thurloe, vii. p. 628).

<sup>c</sup> Son of Sir Miles Fleetwood of Aldwinkle, co. Northants, and brother of Gen. Charles Fleetwood, Cromwell's son-in-law. He entered the service of Gustavus Adolphus in 1629 and was made a Swedish knight in 1632 and baron in 1632, and was sent by Charles X. as Envoy to Cromwell in 1655. There was another Sir George Fleetwood, M.P. for Bucks in 1647 and a regicide, knighted by Cromwell in 1656 and made a peer Dec. 1657.

1657.

with a shott without a bullet and after that with one with a cross barr, for to make him strike; which Opdam refusing, the fregate sett out a long boate with a quarter master, who cried out vnto him that hee should strike to his Captaine, which was accordingly donne by Opdam after diuers contestations and a counsell of warr held amongst the Dutch vpon it, and so the fregate in a greater brauery came and saild before him.<sup>a</sup> Had shee met with De Ruyter, I beleue they had not parted without blowes; for wee heare that hee (De Ruyter) meeting with some English shippes hath searcht them, and one of them was like to haue benee sunke by him for endeauoring to gett away without being visited. The forme of the pasports to bee issued, which Newport hath brought, is vtterly reiected and hee blamd extremely for bringing of them. In summe, mee thinkes I see on all sides greate apparences of a warr betwen the English and Dutch, and few signes of that understanding betweene the French and Cromwell which the world imagines; though I am told that this last hath presented the Ma<sup>l</sup>. de Turenne with a bason and ewer of gold, which, though pure in the metall, may not bee so in the minde of either the giuer or receiuer, and so the prouerbe may in that respect prooue true, "all is not gold that glitters". . . .

Your most humble seruant,

[H. DE VIC].

Br[ussels], 18 Decemb. 1657.

#### PERCY CHURCH.

RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup>,

Paris, this 21 of Dec<sup>br</sup>., 1657.

. . . . *If there be any intrigue driuen betweene Sir John Berkeley and Tuke, its possible [it] will appeare when Du[ke of] Yorke shall be at Breda, for there I heare Princesse R[oyal] shortly expects him.* The new writer of Occurrences formerly

f. 186.

<sup>a</sup> A similar incident seems to have happened when Opdam met the "Dragon" and "Colchester" (see a letter of 27 Nov. *Cal. St. Pap.* 1657-58, p. 188).

1657. mentioned is either imprisoned or gone out of towne, for I can heare no more of him. What [I wrote] of the D. of Buckinghames priuacie was confirmed to mee by a letter Twesday last from London, and therefore it behooues his Grace to bee very quiet. *Sir G. Carteret<sup>a</sup> vpon Sunday last was set at liberty, but commanded to quit Paris and the Kingdome within few dayes; and for the present he hath chosen Savoye, which satisfies the Cardinal, who hath ordered him 300 pistolls for his voyage.* That here is great care taken to assist y<sup>e</sup> Englishe vpon all allarumes appeares by y<sup>e</sup> Cardinalls sending y<sup>e</sup> las[t] weeke his nephew Sinior Manchiny<sup>b</sup> with diuers others of quallety to Mardyke, and for deuersion to other frontiers Mons<sup>r</sup> de Turenne Munday last, the second day after his arriuall. And in case no action at Mardyke bee presented, some conceaue that Sinior Manchiny may pass for England to see y<sup>e</sup> country and Cromwells Court. The Queene of Sweede<sup>c</sup> is still at Fountainblau, though the French Court would bee glad that shee were gone, and for that purpose y<sup>e</sup> D. of Guise is this day gone, or to goe, with ciuill complements from y<sup>e</sup> King and to excuse his not visiting her Mat<sup>v</sup> before her departure, in regard of his present affaires, which is thought will not take with her Mat<sup>v</sup> or at least for this winter, shee beeing in a good house and well accommodated. The King vpon Wedsonday last went to y<sup>e</sup> Parliament to passe an arrest against y<sup>e</sup> Jansenistes in order to a late sentence giuen by the Pope for condemning of seuerall of their writings; y<sup>e</sup> perticulars whereof in short I haue in print and, if your Honour please, shall send them by the next. The beautifull Dutchess of Roqueloire<sup>d</sup> dyed

<sup>a</sup> He was sent to the Bastille on Lockhart's complaint in Aug. 1657, for attempting to seduce the English troops aiding the French in Flanders (Thurloe, vi. pp. 421, 682).

<sup>b</sup> Philippe Mancini-Mazarini, b. 1641. His father, Michel Laurent, died 5 July, 1657.

Christina, who had abdicated in 1654. She visited France in 1656, and again the following year.

<sup>d</sup> Charlotte Marie de Daillon, wife of Gaston, Duke of Roquelaure. She died 15 Dec. 1657, aged 22 (*Dict. de la Noblesse*).

Satterday last ; and y<sup>e</sup> following y<sup>e</sup> Countess of Soissons,<sup>a</sup> neece to y<sup>e</sup> Cardinall, was brought to bed of a young prince, whose name is sayed shalbee Eugenius. Sir Edward Herbert hath bine sick this 9 or 10 dayes, and in y<sup>e</sup> oppinion of y<sup>e</sup> doctors and chirurgions hee is not yet past dainger. Twere well that *Lord Hattons* improovement were ended, for I conceaue it would not doe amiss that some part of it were imployed hether to satisfy his creditors to y<sup>e</sup> honour of him selfe and those that are most nerely allyed to him, and more I know not, hauing neuer heard from him since his departure. . . .

1657.

Your Honours most obliged and most  
humble seruant,

[P. CHURCH.]

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JOHN BALL.

RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup>,

Since my last of the 15 instant, I haue notice from Copenhagen that Meddowes cannot as yet get the Kinge of Denmarke either to admit of a treaty or to giue him a positieue deniall, but [he] doth delay the buisnes and therfore Meddowes is resolued that, if the Kinge will not giue a positieue answer, he will then take his leaue and depart for England. What this resolution of his will produce time will suddenly shew, Jepson<sup>b</sup> haith left Wismar and is now at Lubecke, wheather (*i.e.* whither) the French Ambassador doth this day trauell, whoe doth much labor for a treaty. The Sweds haue latly taken the iland of Alsen, belonging to the Princes of Sonderberg,<sup>c</sup> a widdow ; she is a free

f. 187.

<sup>a</sup> Olympia Mancini, wife of Eugène Maurice, Count of Soissons and Duke of Carignan. The infant was not the famous Prince Eugène, who was not born until 1663.

<sup>b</sup> Maj.-Gen. William Jephson, sent by Cromwell as Envoy to the King of Sweden in Aug. 1657 to arrange a peace with Denmark (Thurloe, vi. p. 478, etc.). See Firth, *Last Years of the Protectorate*, i. p. 326.

<sup>c</sup> Ann, widow of John Christian, Duke of Holstein-Sonderburg, who died in 1653.

1657. princes and haith noe relation to Denmarke. The reason which the Sweds pretend for the doing of this acte is because diuers gentelmen of Holsteen haue conueied ther best goods into that iland to keep them out of the hands of the Sweds; but the true reason I conceaue to be because the iland is very rich and noe soldiers to defend it, and the Sweds doe want all things. This iland lyes opposite to the iland of Funen, and this will serue for a preparation to inuade that iland. The last weeke a party of the Sweds, beinge six hundred horse and dragoones, marched towards Crempe,<sup>a</sup> to see if they could gett into those rich marshe lands, and although the Danes had at the passe 1400 men and two peeeces of cannon, yet at the sight of the Sweds they did most ignobly runn away for Crempe and haue left that rich cuntry to be a prey vnto the merciles Sweds and, if the strangers doe not make the Danes fight better the next springe, they will loose ther Kingdom. Sir William Vauasor is heere, and Sir George Fleetwoods men are safely returned for England.

I remaine

Your Honnors most humble seruant,

JOHN BALL.

Hamburg, the 22 of December,  
1657.

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PERCY CHURCH.

RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup>,

This 28 of Dec<sup>r</sup>. 1657.

f. 189.

. . . . As for y<sup>e</sup> present your Honour mentions to haue bine giuen Mons<sup>r</sup> de Turenne by Cromwell, it is, if so, [a] very priuate thing and contrary to all mens beleefe that I haue spoken with all. The Prince Elector<sup>b</sup> is a wise and wourthy person, and therefore I maruell hee should not remember his fathers fortune and choose rather a nutrality then an ingagement. That Admirall

<sup>a</sup> Crempe in Holstein.

<sup>b</sup> Charles Louis, Elector Palatine, son of Frederic, King of Bohemia.

Opdam his behauior in y<sup>e</sup> last expedition happens to bee so much exclaimed against is not amiss, for y<sup>e</sup> Vice Admirall Ruyter (though our Masters freind) may doe y<sup>e</sup> States better seruice. And as for Ambassador Naport, would his Marine treaty and paseport had bine so bad as to haue made his Masters bight instead of barking.<sup>a</sup> The Prince of Condes health is here still reported here (*sic*) according to the seuerall factions; wherefore bee pleased, as occation present, to aduise y<sup>e</sup> certainty.

Vpon Twesday was a senight last my letter from *Ned Progers* at London brought mee so ill newes that I forboare to mention it; but hee contradicting y<sup>e</sup> same by y<sup>e</sup> following post and since, I shall with great joy tell your Honour the wourthy Lady Marquis of Ormond is (after her beeing at sea in a great storme towards Ireland) landed in safety and health vpon y<sup>e</sup> cost of Wales, and so I beseech your Honour to tell his Excellence from me. *Sir George Carteret* must bee gone y<sup>e</sup> next weeke out of London<sup>b</sup> and for *Nice in Savoy*, that so hee may bee nere to *giue his advise at Toulon in the marine affaires*, and then in time hee possibly may bee *recalled and his entertainmentes settled as before, which were about 1200 pistolls yearely*. The D. of Buckinghame, what euer [is] thought at your Court to y<sup>e</sup> contrary, is certainly still stricktly sought after, and by that meanes some priests haue lately bine taken and others by per-ticular warrant to y<sup>e</sup> number of eight and examined by order of Councell by Moreland,<sup>c</sup> once Enuoye to Sauoy and y<sup>e</sup> Protestant Cantons. The prisoners in y<sup>e</sup> Towre are now so re-strayned that one keeper is not permitted to stay with his prisoner alone, and all who goe to visitt them are most seuerely examined, and generall searches throughout y<sup>e</sup> cittie are noised and nightly expected, y<sup>e</sup> guard in all places doubled, which causes

<sup>a</sup> On the failure of Nieupoort's negotiations for a maritime treaty see Firth, *Last Years of the Protectorate*, i. p. 333.

<sup>b</sup> No doubt a mistake for "Paris" (see above, p. 28).

<sup>c</sup> Samuel Morland, now Assistant-Secretary under Thurloe.

1657. great feares of a suddaine storme without any visible reason, vnless it bee that Lamberts regiment and others refuse to disband. Harry Cromwell hath lately bine made Lord Deputy of Ireland.<sup>a</sup> Mr. Rich and his wife agree not and y<sup>e</sup> Ladyes of y<sup>e</sup> Towne say hee is diseased; but y<sup>e</sup> Lord Faulkenbridge is become so much Cromwells fauorite that hee hath brought his vncl<sup>e</sup> b into creditt there.

Generall Reignolds<sup>c</sup> with one Collonel White and other officers goeing from Mardyke to England was, as beleueed, cast away vpon Goodden Sandes, for neither shipp or man were euer heard of, but a box with papers and letters belonging to Reignolds was taken vp at Deale y<sup>e</sup> last weeke. Great stoare of armes, fier wourkes and all other prouisions are dayly sent from England to Mardyke as alsoe 300 men lately and 500 more were to follow within 2 or 3 dayes after. Mareshall D'Aumont and Sinior Manchiny are now there, and Mons<sup>r</sup>. de Turenne vpon y<sup>e</sup> frontiers ells where. The Infanta of Portugall her picture hath bine newly brought to y<sup>e</sup> French Court by an express. Young Sinior Manchiny,<sup>d</sup> brother to y<sup>e</sup> former and a scholler at y<sup>e</sup> Jesuists Colledge, playing with some other youtthes at tossing one another in a blanckett, one corner by accident fell to y<sup>e</sup> grownd and consequently Manchiny, who was in it, with so great a force that the right side of his head was broake and this morning hee was trepanned.

Sir Edward Herbert, late Lord Keeper,<sup>e</sup> dyed this morning

<sup>a</sup> His commission as Lord-Lieutenant was dated 16 Nov.

<sup>b</sup> John Belasyse, Lord Belasyse of Worlaby, a Royalist.

<sup>c</sup> Sir John Reynolds, commanding the English forces in Flanders. He is said to have been returning to England to meet charges of having shown civilities to the Dukes of York and Gloucester, Lieut.-Col. Francis White, Governor of Mardyke, being one of his accusers. The ship in which they both sailed was wrecked on the Goodwin Sands on  $\frac{6}{15}$  Dec. and all on board perished (see Firth, *Last Years of the Protectorate*, i. p. 297).

<sup>d</sup> Alphonse Marie. He died 5 Jan. 1658, no doubt from the effects of this accident.

<sup>e</sup> He was appointed 6 Apr. 1653, and resigned in June, 1654.

about 8 of y<sup>e</sup> clock. Pray what's become of Princes Louis?<sup>a</sup> Is she, as reported here, gone from y<sup>e</sup> good Queene of Bohemia and turned Romishe Catholique? The Queene of England hath since Satterday last bine at Challiott and at y<sup>e</sup> soonest returns not till Wedsonday next. . . . 1654.

*Unsigned; endorsed Mr. Per. Ch.*

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SIR EDW. NICHOLAS.

TO MR. FR. ROPER.

From Bruges, 9 Jan. 1654.

At the instance and by the advice of the Spanish Ministers here my Lord of Ormonde is now preparing to be sent by the K. into Germany to treat about some business of importance<sup>b</sup>; in order wherunto he hath already part of his dispatches from the Spanish Ministers, and he hopes to begin his journey some time the next week. His Lordship will go directly and in the first place to Prague to the K. of Hungary without touching at or coming near Francfort, as being out of his way. But I am to tell you from his Majesty that the business his Lordship goes for hath no affinity or relation at all to any matter contained in your instructions and orders; and therefore his Majesty would have you to proceed in your negotiations without taking notice of his Lordship's employment, tho' his Lordship's being sent into Germany be no secret here nor to be kept secret by you.

Add. MS.  
4180,  
f. 138.

<sup>a</sup> Louise, daughter of Elizabeth, Queen of Bohemia. She became a nun in the abbey of Maubuisson, near Pontoise, 25 Mar. 1659 (below, p. 76), and was made abbess in 1664.

<sup>b</sup> This mission of Ormonde was a pretence. While it was given out that he was sent to Germany to raise troops, he made his way into Holland and thence into England about the end of Jan. 1658. The chances of a successful rising proved to be hopeless, and, after barely escaping capture, he returned to the Continent before March. See Firth, *Last Years of the Protectorate*, ii. pp. 61-65.

1658. To SIR H. BENNET.

From Bruges,  $\frac{1}{8}$  March, 1657.

f. 133b. From Brussels we are bid to be confident the K. shall go for England speedily; but when I consider the time of the year, the no visible preparations on our part, and the manifest appearance of provisions against it on Cromwell's side, I cannot hope, much less believe, we shall be enabled to attempt anything this spring from these parts.

To SIR H. BENNET.

$\frac{1}{8}$  Apr. 1658.

I can assure you the K. hath not yet received one stiver of the 6 months arrear due upon his ordinary allowance for support of himself and family and notwithstanding the 200,000 crowns sent to Don Juan. There was never any distressed K. used with so much neglect as the K. of England is here, which I hope is truly and fully represented to you by those from hence who are near his Majesty and are best acquainted with all passages.

I can say nothing to you[r] purpose of the particulars of the Marquis of Ormondes journey, having heard nothing of it but in the general, that it was a desperate adventure to no purpose, the Spanish Ministers having so grossly failed in all their undertaking to send the King into England with some considerable forces, as I suppose you may have heard before this from Marq. Ormond or Lord Chancellor.<sup>a</sup>

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JOHN BALL.

RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup>,

Eg. 2536,  
f. 215.

Since my last of the 28 past, these parts haue yealded noe alterations; only the Moscouiter haith raysed his seige from before Narua. Two dayes before the army marcht away the Moscouiters Generall desired a conference with the Gouvernor of Narua, which being granted, the Generall tould him that the Great Duke

<sup>a</sup> Hyde, hitherto styled "Mr. Chancellor," as Chancellor of the Exchequer.

1658.

had sent him a command to rayse the seige and to march out of the Sueds terretoryes, and that the Sueds ambassador (whoe had bin imprisoned in the Mosco aboue two yeares) was set at liberty and that his master desired to haue a treaty of peace with the Kinge of Sweden. He farther tould him that his master had bin abused both by the Kinge of Poland and Vngaria, whoe hauing promised him great matters had performed noething. Soe hauing bin merry togeather after the fashcion of the cuntry, they departed, and the Moscouiters army is marched towards Mosco. Wheather the Moscouiter doth meane reall in this buisnes is vncertaine; for, althoughe he haith sett the ambassador at liberty, yet he is confined not [to] depart out of the citty Mosco, and againe he doth not as yet suffer any trade to goe to Riga, soe that some men are of the opinion that he haith only drawne off the army from Narua to ioyne with the great army. But I am not able to iudge any thing of this buisnes; only, if the Moscouiter doth meane reall with the Swede, I am then confident that Poland is destroyed, if not the Elector, which I much feare. The Emperialist are master of the feild all about Elbing, in soe much that he doth plunder dayly vnder the walls of that citty. Since my last I haue bin at the Pillow,<sup>a</sup> lying 28 English miles from hence. I find ther that the galiott laden with powder and amunition which was sent the last winter from Sweden vnto Elbing and was then seased vpon by the Elector is not as yet restored, and the powder, armes and amunition putt to the Electors employment. I doe farther find that diuers quantityes of powder, armes and amunition goinge for Elbing this yeare haue bin alsoe seased vpon for the Electors vse; and by a positue command from the Elector noe armes nor amunition must goe for Elbinge, soe the commanders ther doe all beleue that ther wilbe warr with ther master and the Sued. The fort is very strong, well prouided both with men, powder and armes,

<sup>a</sup> Pillau, on the east side of the Gulf of Dantzic, belonging to the Elector of Brandenburg.

1658. but they haue not eight dayes prouision of victualls in the fort; soe that, if the Sweds should but land 2000 men a mile from the Pillow and cutt off the passe of Fishehusene, the Pillow must of necessity be lost, and soe consequently all this cuntrey. And to speake truth, heer is noe man takes any care for the preseruacion of these parts, but all wayes are vsed to gett mony into ther owne hands, and to destroy the cuntry people. I am very sorry I must write you this sadd truth. From Berlin I haue notice that Jepson tould the Elector that Cromwell had commanded him to lett him know that what prince soeuer should oppose the Kinge of Sweden in any of his proceedings, they should haue him to be there enemy—spoke like a barbarouse Rebell. What answer Jepson haith receaued from the Elector I cannot as yet learne; but he haith taken his leaue, and is gonne for Wismar to meet the Kinge of Sweden, and soe he is resolued to returne for England. Since the aboue [was] written, the post from Riga is come, and although the Moscouiters are marched from before Narua, yet the letters doe but speake doubtfully of the Moscouiters intents. But a littell time will shewe the truth of this. I shall allwayese remaine

Your Honors most humble seruant,

JOHN BALL.

Königsberg, the 4 of June, 1658.

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COL. THOMAS BLAGGE.

SIR,

Furn, June the 5<sup>th</sup> Wensday.

- f. 216. I had yours of the 30<sup>th</sup> of the last and could be glad itt weare as much in my power to giue his Mat<sup>tye</sup> as good an acoumpte off all other things relatinge to his regiment as off my owne care and dilligence in his saruice, and I am confident he would haue such a body off men uerye soen as he would haue noe reasone to be ashamed to see his cullers flye at the head off them. But for what reasone I know not, the difficultys the Spaniards put upon

us ar such as I feare can not be longe suported. Heareaboutes  
ar diuers regiments com up, not one off them scarce halfe ower  
number, with ecupages compitent for a thousa[n]d men, and we  
not on[e] wagon, car, horse or cloke to take the fild withall, and  
yet Don Stiffano de Gamara on Monday last sent me orders to  
march out to giue place to the regiment off Don Antonio de  
Colobe, whoe could not be quartrd to his conueniencye. So,  
while the regiment was preparinge to march, I galoped ouer to  
him and represented the impossibilitye off ower takinge the fild  
without armes or ecupage, but with the certayne ruine off itt in  
too days. But [I] told him that we found that many had bin  
ordred to goe in to Duncurke which had not obeyd, by which  
reason itt was thought the toun had great want of men. The  
march thether was not longe and theare would be noe use off  
baggage iff we gott in, and iff we did not gitt in, I assured him  
we would aske non this campagnia; and since it was uissible the  
regment was designed to be broke, I humb[l]ye desired that itt  
might be upon saruice which would be honorable both to the  
state and the officers that comanded. He told me they weare a  
uery fine body and ought to be preserued for a reasonable, and  
not lost upon a desperate, atempte, and thearfore he should con-  
tinue them wheare they weare untill such time as the Generalls  
cam up to the army, and then he doubted not but they would  
take conuenient orders for us, and so gaue me his comands to the  
Gouernore to continue us as beffore. Itt would be great pittye  
nesesitye and ill usadge should compell thes men to disband,  
being 260 as proper men as euer I yet saw together all the days  
of my liffe, not one of them aboue thirtye nor under twentye;  
and notwithstanding the hardest winter and worst treatment  
that euer men yet suffred, and theare beinge intertayned only  
for his Ma<sup>ty</sup>s expeditione in to England, they ar so well disposed  
that, iff they may yet but haue in comone with the rest off the  
army, I am confident, if his Ma<sup>ty</sup> should not this seuen yeares  
(which God forbid) haue use off them in that kind, he will find

1658. the most off them, iff alieue so longe, as redye to sarue him as they ar now. This iff yo[u] please to acquaint his Matye with, and the diligence we use to kepe them together, and that his Matye would be pleased to use all the meanes he can to Don John for them, is all I shall say upon that subiecte. By the aduis of Don Steffano de Gamara I sent yesterday Don Johns order to the Maiestrates of Dixmude. The reason he gaue was that theare aunswer might be heare beffore the Generalls cam hether, that, iff they disobayed, present order might be taken with them. And I could wishe that, when they com, they would be as redy to doe us reason, as I am sure those maiestrats will doe us now, if not compeled. I expect Capt. Muses<sup>a</sup> retorne this day, and theare aunswer you shall haue by the next.

f. 217. All the newes I can send you from hence since my last is that on Sondag morninge last a shipe loden with amunitione from Ostend gott saffe into Duncurk. On Monday we thought to haue put in a regiment off Burgonions from Nuport, but beffore they could gitt out off the port fower frigates cam to ancore beffore the mouth of the hauen, wheare they still continue. The French imploye them selues still in fortifyinge theare lyne off circumualatione and, itt semes, resolue to make itt unatemptable beffore they begin theare aproche, which though many sayes they will doe this day and the next, I beleue they will not open theare attacke yet thes seuen or eight dayes, the workes in the downes costinge them great laboure, beinge off runinge sande, which must be all made faste with fagotes, and they will sartainly finishe that beffore they atempte the other. In the meane time an ensigne which cam out on Sondag morninge assures us that, though the Marquise de Layde<sup>b</sup> has not as many men as he wishes he had, and those which he might haue expected, 1500 more hauinge had time enough orders to com in to his assistance, which [they] neglected, notwithstandinge his garisône consistes

<sup>a</sup> Capt. Peter Mews, afterwards Bishop of Winchester (vol. ii. p. 19).

<sup>b</sup> Spanish Governor of Dunkirk (vol. iii. p. 12).

1658.

of 400 horse and neare 2500 foote and uery well armed and fitted for saruice. He hath, besides the ordinarye mounted this way, 60 peces of canon which he found upon the key affter the shipinge weare all gone from thence to Ostend, in the counterscarfe 30 peces and in euery rauline and halfe-moone within the counter-scarfe toe and thre apece. Itt is like to be uigorously atacked, and as well deffended. What releffe may be thrust in by sea I know not; but I feare they haue made them selues toe stronge to doe any good by land, theare army beinge stronge and theare ligne not large, they hauinge cutt the bancke off the reuer which goes to Bargaen a lettell aboue the fortes, and so drowned all without theare trench allmost as far as the downes, which secures them extreamly and takes off the dutye off at the least 5 thousand men. This is all the newes we haue and more then I would haue trobilled you with all, but that you say his Maty<sup>e</sup> has non off the best inteligence from this partes. I am, Sir, allwayes

Your most humble saruant

*Unsigned; endorsed Coll. Blag.*

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JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT Hoble,

Bruges, 17 Junij, 1658.

I have your 14 instant and by this tyme you heare of an action<sup>a</sup> very sad to vs and such as in our iudgment will make the render of Dunkirke inevitable, there beinge soe great a losse of foote, as well Spaniards as English. Its hard to make a iudgment without knowledge of all circumstances of the fact; but, as it appears, the assault the enemy made was drawn on by our neere approach and a discovery that wee had neither artillery nor pioneers. The losse seemes to be very great of men and the encounter sharpe, but the French beinge superiour in numbers

f. 292.

<sup>a</sup> The battle of the Dunes on 1<sup>st</sup> June, resulting in the surrender of Dunkirk ten days later.

1658. and makinge way by their artillery fell on rather to slaughter then fight. They talke that the rebell English did much advance the victory, the Suisse beinge repulsed by our English, but I beleeve you will heare more certenty. The Dutch heere speake very honorably of our dukes, especially the D. of Yorke, who, they say, did wonders in rallying the broken forces severall tymes and makinge a stand when the army was very much broken. Yet I doubt wee shall have noe more favour then before, and there is a base generation of people among them here that looke not on vs here but as enemyes to their religion, and, as I heare, some have sayed of the English slayne that they went but the sooner to the devill. I feare most of our worthy officers are destroyed, which is a sad presage, that they who have gone through soe many dangers should now shutt vpp their dayes where they have had soe little respect or iustice. I doubt Dunkirke will not be delivered to Cromwell and then there may be some breach betwene the French and him. If it be delivered, he hath the French at a sure lock that nothing but peace with Spaine cann take them of from him, and it will make all treatyes difficult betwene Spaine and Cromwell while he hath Dunkirke; but I doubt nothinge will move the Dutch but vltimate necessity that they cannot ly still.

Just now came to me Col. Grosses<sup>a</sup> man, who tells me his master and he were taken prisoners. He is goinge for Vlissing to a marchant to gett mony if he cann, but its very doubtfull, the case being as it is. He tells me he was taken but suffred to come away to procure his masters ransome, beinge with a private horseman, who kepes with him, and not with the prisoners and hath agreed with him for 15 pistolls. If the Kinge be in any condition, such a some were well spared, I thinke, to gett such an officer. If you cann doe him any good, it wilbe a worke of charity and, I hope, advantage. The man tells me he sawe like-

<sup>a</sup> Col. Richard Grace (above, p. 10).

wise P. Mewes taken. I am much revived by the safety of theis two persons, whome I thinke very considerable.

1658.

You finde by the bookes of last weeke that a lettre and commission from the Kinge was alledged to be produced by Sir Henry Slingsby<sup>a</sup>; if soe, the busines could not be without the privity of some here. You will see the bookes of this weeke, where I finde Dr. Hewet very glorious in his diffence. I know not what to say to his prayer in publike, but in such a case much is in the present apprehension. I see Lisle<sup>b</sup> playinge his prize, but beleewe he was much galled by Dr. Hewet, for passion even happend when he came to speake to him. I beleewe Mr. Mordant<sup>c</sup> was delivered by former agreement not to question the iurisdiction. I am told here the new plott was a branch of the former and not singly of the Presbiterian slough. I am confident Stapely<sup>d</sup> was the betrayer of the whole and of Dr. Hewet, as appears by the charge, where is mencion of Trelawny,<sup>e</sup> and by omission of his christian name I hope he is not apprehended. They say the plott was knowen here. Such as came here yesterday say the Kinge goes on Wensday; but, if the busines of Bishoppes depend on that mans conduct, I thinke it cleerly lost. The Bishopp I believe is now gone, havinge appointed his iourney this mornynge. I see Downynge<sup>f</sup> at the Hage doth his busines

<sup>a</sup> He was tried at Westminster, 25 May, for trying to seduce officers of the garrison at Hull and was executed 8 June. Dr. John Hewett, minister of St. Gregory's near St. Paul's, London, tried for conspiracy 1 June, also suffered death on the same day.

<sup>b</sup> John Lisle, joint-commissioner with Whitelocke of the Great Seal, presided over the High Court for the trial of conspirators appointed 27 April, 1658.

<sup>c</sup> John Mordaunt, 2nd son of John, 1st Earl of Peterborough. He was tried, but was acquitted by Lisle's casting vote.

<sup>d</sup> John Stapley, cr. Bart. in 1660 (vol. ii. p. 324). He was arrested at the end of March and confessed all he knew of the plot.

<sup>e</sup> John Trelawny, an active Royalist agent (vol. iii. pp. 37, 160 and *Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* vol. iii.).

<sup>f</sup> George Downing, sent to the Hague in Dec. 1657 to negotiate on the question of the Baltic. He remained there as Resident until the Restoration and after.

1658. by his masters power. I wonder not if his partes be noe better, but somtymes the iudges be mistaken and Mr. Henvliet, whose (I beleeve) the report is, may be willinge to make him noe better then he is. All the talke here is that the iourney is for Spaine, though Fr[ankfort] be most spoken of, for sure there wilbe nothing to doe at Fr[ankfort] and, I feare, as little in Spaine; vnlesse the necessityes increase or wee grow more considerable. It were better be quiett then busy to soe little advantage. Wee wish your spedy returne, which wilbe most welcome to

Your honours humblest servant,

J. J.

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JOHN BALL.

RIGHT HONO<sup>ll</sup>,

f. 234b. . . . I must now giue your Honor the sadd and lamentable accountp of the death of Sir Thomas Rooksby,<sup>a</sup> whoe (beinge att his quarters at Shenecke twenty English miles from Danske) was persuaded to make vse of a dry bathe by a barber, which accordingly he did, but it soe hapned, either by the ignorance ore negligence of the barber in pouring too much aqua vitæ at one time, the tube (*i.e.* tub) wherein he satt tooke fier, wherein he was soe lamentably burnt that the next day he died, which is a great losse to the Poles, as alsoe for the Kinge our master, for whome he might haue donn good seruice if he had liued.

Since the aboue [was] written the Riga post is come and from thence I haue notice that the cessation of armes betwixt the Moscouiter and the Sued is concluded and proclaymed at Riga to continue vntell the treaty shall beginn. Yet most men feare it is but a cheate of the Moscouiter to gett some prouisions out of the Sueds quarters. They alsoe write that there are come theather 1500 English, but vnder whose command they write not.

<sup>a</sup> Sir Thomas Rokeby (vol. iii. p. 135), who had been in the service of the King of Poland since 1656 (*Cal. Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 147).

They were not landed and therefore I beleue miscounted in the number. I shall write tomorrow to Riga for the truth of this; but the Swede doth well (if this proue true) to send them soe farr out of there country that they may be here starued without any greate notice taken in England. God forgiue Sir George Flett-wode for this acte. . . .

1658.

Your Honors most humble seruant,

JOHN BALL.

Königsberg, this 18 of June, 1658.

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JOSEPH JANE TO JOHN NICHOLAS.

SIR,

Bruges, 19 Junij, 1658.

It seemes you are cheaply here, though they that have the rewardes you speake of thinke them soe little that your paynes, which is the greatest part, is scarce thought on; but you are cast on those tymes when testimonyes and titles, though gredily sought for, are thought to deare if the charge of inke and penns be payed for, which noe man is bound to finde for them.<sup>a</sup> But one sort of theis may deserve charity, though it be not considered but esteemed duty. Though you are thus taken vpp, I hope your frindes may salute you. Some thinke that the motion of these great persons signifies more then pleasure or conversation, but I will not troble my selfe with divination; in some (*i.e.* sum), if any supply be expected that way, I doubt it wilbe disappointed. I vnderstand not what a voyage to Frankfort should signifie, when the election<sup>b</sup> is finished, and the custome beinge that all suddenly depart after that is done.

f. 296.

Mr Ellyott came here last night, and he brings greater terrour from Bruxelles then wee apprehended here. I beleeeve before any thinge draw neere vs the Commanders of the army will

<sup>a</sup> See his letter of 28 June (below, p. 54).

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* of the new Emperor. The Archduke Leopold was not actually elected until 18 July.

1658. withdrawe from the place they are, and by their retreat wee shall know what to expect. I heare your father is now in my L. Chancellors lodgings, but, if the Kinge come not back, I beleeeve he may have them for altogether, and I see not, if the further voyage hold, why he should. I see a duell may be a way to paye a debt, but none to gett it. Noe doubt the losse was very great vpon the Sp. army and the danger great to the Commanders themselves, but there is little losse of horse. I heare the designe was not approved by the D. of Yorke. Most of our frindes are prisoners; how they will come out is vnknownen. For my continuance here, it dependes on your returne or my wyves commyng over; and if this last happen, I intend not to make theis parts my station. I will not kepe you longer but ever am

Your affectionate faithfull servant,

J. J.

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JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HOB<sup>le</sup>,

Bruges, 21 Junij, 1658.

f. 240.

I beleeeve ere now you have the whole story of the defeate before Dunkirke; and I finde not that any fasten the designe on any of our frindes, but some say the D. of Y[ork] disapproved it. But, as badd as it is, I beleeeve many are escaped and come agayne to the army. My Lord Newberge,<sup>a</sup> I heare, is now in this towne. I have not seene him. The reportes of our Dukes are much to their advantage, performyng as much as courage and skill could in such a disaster. I finde that Vstickes brother, who is left agent by his brother at Vlissinge, to whome Col. Grosse sent his man, will not disburse the mony, and I doubt Mr. Ford will not vpon your sonnes and myne engagemente disburse the mony; but, if Mr. Fox were here, its possible it might be done. Your sonne hath written to Captayne Mewes touchinge the

<sup>a</sup> James Lewington, cr. Viscount Newburgh, 1647 and Earl of Newburgh, 1660. He was colonel of the Scottish regiment in Flanders.

way of his enlargment, and in the meane tyme it shalbe kept secret.

1659.

Its very likely that the commission produced against Sir Henry Slingsby<sup>a</sup> was made vpon some coniecture, and I beleeeve they have heretofore mett with commissions of that nature, from whence it was not hard to make one agreable to the forme of others, and therefore its imprudent in them to misse such a circumstance vnlesse they meant by settinge downe the commission to gett beleife with the people and cared not for exactnes, desiringe wee heere should not know what they have. But they that whispered from England did it to some end, and I beleeeve some intimacions of approbation, if not letters, were sent for encoragement. Wee here cannot apprehend the cause of the Kinges iourney to meete the Princesse, especially since the stay is soe longe in the States Dominions or any where els. Wee have heere Mr. Tirwhit to reade prayers, who is like to continue for some tyme if he cann eate, and how that cann be provided for I know not. In the meane tyme its hard to resolve what course to take for vs that are necessitated every way. Sir Ch. Cottrell is gone this morninge to the army. I beleeeve the French would not send to Cromwell vpon the busines of the Religion vnlesse it were vpon designe to make vse of it, for they might be assured that Cromwell would not permitt them in the towne whome he knew vpon the cause of religion would be perpetuall enemyes to him. If it be done, its possible some good effects may come of it, as an excuse for not giving him the towne when its taken. I beleeeve the French clergy will vse more then their devotions to kepe the towne from falling into Cromwells handes. I have not els at present, but to continue my desires of your favour to

Your honours humblest servant,

J. J.

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<sup>a</sup>One of the charges against him was that he had given to Major Waterhouse a commission from Charles II. to be governor of Hull.

1658.

MARY KNATCHBULL.

RIGHT HONORABLE,

f. 243.

You haue been so obliging to me by your fauour of the 20<sup>th</sup> of this month, I humbly thanke you for it and greeue with you for the misfortune of our worthy frinds in England, who haue [suffered] and will suffer immesurably for their affection and loyalty to his Ma<sup>ty</sup>. Your frind, Sir, is well and safe. I can tell you this good nuse for certaine, though I send you not a letter from him, which happens by the not deliuering yours to him. It came to London that very week wherin the cittizens intended to act their designe, upon occation wherof both your worthy frind and the good lady to whom I direct my letters (and is well acquainted with him) was gon out of towne. She ordered my packett to be sent after her and so it was, but mist her, returning to London before it could ariue. In fine, to scape a worse incounter the packett was flunge into the fyer, and your Honor is intreated, if there were any thinge in it which imports his Ma<sup>ty</sup>s or your seruice, to repeate the contents and, if you send it by my meanes, I hope it will haue better luck then the last. In the meane time I haue desired the lady to informe your frind and hers of the accident, that he may (att least) know your Honor hath not been vnmindfull of him. I perceiue all our frinds are so frighted with their misfortunes that they desire not to heare of or from us, willingly declining euen the shadow of danger where no substantiall advantage can be hoped. Howeuer, I doubt not their constant affection and readiness to express it, when groundedly it may be don, and till then I beleue your wisdomes will neuer thinke of ingaging them more in any thinge. Some frinds lately come ouer will wayte on your Honor, being gon to his Ma<sup>ty</sup>; by them you will heare what nuse is stiring in those parts. I haue heard and reioysed att the gallantry of our two braue Dukes. God preserue them safe. I beginn to grow somewhat confident that the resolution of giuing Dunkerk to the English will proue the sauing of the towne, hauing so edged the

clergy and people both in France and these parts that they will venture any thinge to saue it; and if it be saued, surely a breach between France and Cromwell will follow through a palpable discouery of the Frenches concurrence to saue it. Within these few dayes I receiued a letter from our English poore Clares in Dunkkerk, and I hope by the same meanes to gitt one in to them. They tell me strange things of the piety, generossity and gallantry of their brave gouernor, of the courage and resolution of the cittizens, and seeme not to be in such feare or want as I apprehended, though, poore soules, they suffer much, and they att Gravling no less. I shall readily obey your Honors commands and euer aproue myself

1658.

Your Honors most faithfull humble seruant,

MARY KNATCHBULL, Abbess unwor[thy].

This 23<sup>th</sup> June, 1658.

*Endorsed by Nicholas, Lady Abbesse of Ghent.*

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LORD NAPIER.<sup>a</sup>

SIR,

. . . . Now that my sone is to returne to those parts, I have taken the liberty to give yow this trouble, as lykewise to acquaint yow that I made choyse of this yland to sojourne in till I should heare from my friends in Scotland, hoping I may be enabled by them to follow my designe of going into Germany, if I cannot obtaine any charge in these countrys after the Kings departure from Bruxelles. I cannot forbear also to tell yow that I had occasion to be often in company with the Lord Wentworth<sup>b</sup> (since I came to live at this towne), who I thinke a very just and rationall man, and gives the most noble character of yourselfe that ever I heard him doe of any persone. And I may

f. 245.

<sup>a</sup> Archibald, 2nd Lord Napier of Merchiston. He died three months later (below, p. 68). He had been excepted out of Cromwell's Act of Grace and Pardon, 12 Apr. 1654, and retired to Flanders.

<sup>b</sup> See vol. i. p. 279.

1658. professe with very greate trueth that his respects to yow were the greatest inducements I had of any to contract a friendship with him, whom some may charge with privat infirmities (and they are incident to all sorts of men in one kind or other); yet I take him to be both loyall to his prince and loveing to his night-bour, which is but little studied and far lesse practised by most of this age. He has desired much to correspond with me; and I have promised to be ready to serve him in that or any other particular, for, as I told you before, the reverend esteeme which he has of your persone is the greatest link and chain of that friendship which now is betwixt vs. This I hope yow will not distrust, when yow consider how much yow have oblidged, Sir,

Your most faithfull and obedient servant,

NAPIER.

Middleburgh, June 24, 1658.

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EARL OF BRISTOL.

MY GOOD BROTHER,

Furns, this midsommer day, 58.

f. 247.

The afflictions I mett with at Ghand, the losse of children in England and there, joind to mine oune indisposition were cause that I arrived not heere vntill the last night, where I waited first on the Dukes of Yorke and Glost[er], whoe were pleased to vse mee very ciuily, and the Duke of Yorke to tell mee that hee would conferre with mee and giue mee directions how I should gouerne my selfe with D. John concerninge the repairinge of his Matys troopes, which are come together againe much better then was expected, all but the Kings oune regiment, which is totally lost. Yesterday the troopes past muster and, as the Duke tells mee, the K's were neere vpon a thousand men, most of the officers beinge also returnd. Of the naturall Spaniards there are likewise six hundred come back, so that the whole losse is not esteemd at above 1500 men. The sad part of the businesse is that Dunkerke will bee lost within two or three dayes at the

furthest, the Kinge of France beinge come to Mardike from thence to make his entrance and to have the honour of delivering vp the place to Cromwell.

1658.

With D. John I haue only had the time to make his Mat<sup>ys</sup> compliments and to speake with him of the maliciouse office done mee about giuing the K's troopes to the P. of Condé; in which business hee protested vnto mee sincerely that hee never heard my name mentiond nor the thinge it selfe, but only once lett fall by some body at randome as somewhat that had beene talkt of in the tounne, whervnto hee never tooke any heed nor never made any reflexion vpon it, being a thinge he knew to bee impossible in the way twas mentiond. As in the way I related vnto him what had past concerninge it, hee sayd there was no roome for any exceptions against the proposition, if it should haue gone much forwarder. This is all I can say vnto you and to his Mat<sup>y</sup> by you at the present, beinge in much hast and in no little payne.

Your most faithfull humble seruaunt,

BRISTOL.

I breake open againe this letter to tell you that at this instant the Marques de Leydas body brought into this towne letts vs see the cause of Dunkerks being rendred some dayes sooner then was expected. Hee was slaine doinge most gloriously; his person is almost as greate a losse as Dunkerk, which is wholly putt into the English hands.

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SIR CHARLES COTTERELL.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

Newport, June 25, 1658.

. . . . You had the relation of the late defeat before I came from Brussels, and I doubt not haue since heard many other particulars of that businesse, to which I shall onely adde that Col. Carelesse<sup>a</sup> and many others of the officers that were prisoners

f. 249.

<sup>a</sup> Col. William Carlos or Carelesse, who after the battle of Worcester shared with the King his place of concealment in the oak in Boscobel wood.

1658. are allready freed upon theyr parole and theyr ransomes since payd to the Lorrainers, into whose hands they fell. They were very well used by them and sent away secretly because of the search that was made for diuers of them. Mr Hay, my Lord of Quenouil's<sup>a</sup> brother, with Coll. Grosse, Capt. Mewes and some others are expected dayly, theyr ransomes being allready sent by a Trumpet. Many of the soldiers also come off euery day, but all stript. They were mustered on Sondag last, and I belieue are about 600 men effectiue, though theyr officers mustered many more. None of the Kings officers were kild but Slaughter and Curtis. Col. Blagge is here in towne and as well as a man can be with a shot in at his cheeke and out at the middle of his necke. Many of the Spaniards are also come off. Don Antonio de Cordoua got away for 200 pistols before he was knowne, and the Mar[quis] de Seraluo will shortly be here, hauing agreed for 1000. Don Melchior Portocarrero and Don Luys de Frias, both Gentlemen of Don Juans bedchamber, receiu'd dangerous shots in the arme, but are not prisoners. The Mar. Caracena did like to haue beene one, hauing his bridle seiz'd on by an Englishman, but he freed himselfe, though afterward, being throwne downe with his horse, he strain'd his foot so that he is not yet able to come out of his chamber, and the D. of Glo[ucester] therefore eats still with his brother.

Dunkerke began to capitulate on Sondag, and this afternoone at 2 of the clocke the Garrison marchd out toward St. Omers, whither they are obliged to goe by article. They are not aboue 600 foot and 500 horse. The Mar. de Leyde, who was shot in the sholder about 8 dayes since, dyed yesternight, but more of griefe (as is reported) then of his wound, which was not accounted dangerous, and his body is now come hither to this towne. Mons<sup>r</sup>. de Basse Cour<sup>b</sup> made the conditions, which are signed by

<sup>a</sup> William Hay, Earl of Kinnoul.

Successor to the Marquis de Lede as Governor. Louis XIV. made his state entry the same day, and in the evening handed over the keys to Sir W. Lockhart as English general.

1658.

the King off France him selfe, to march with theyr armes, colours and 4 pieces of cannon. The townesmen haue a yeare and six weekes to dispose of them selues and theyr goods or shipping, if they will depart, and to haue the excercise of theyr religion and theyr churches undisturbed for those that stay, but the Gouvernour to be an Englishman and a Protestant. It is sayd my Lord Falconbridge shall be the man. More particulars off the articles wee haue not yet, but, if there be any other considerable, when I know them, they shall be sent you. Wee quitted Feurnes this morning and retired hither, where I belieue wee shall stay till some judgment be made of the enemyes next designe, which some that are come from Dunkerke say will be upon this place. Others report that Mr. La Ferté and his army are marchd to Rocroy with an intent to besiege it, which is probable, if they be strong enough to engage before two places at once. My Lord of Bristol is here and had his baggage seizd on yesterday by the officers and soldiers of my Lord Lieutenants Regiment for 200 pounds which hee tooke up of their Plaquillas<sup>a</sup> at Brussells and hath not repayd them yet; which mutinous action is so resented by the D. of Yorke and euery body here that it is thought necessary an example should be made of some of them, but my Lord of Bristol intercedes for theyr pardon and possibly may obtaine it. I am, Honoured Sir,

Your most humble most faithfull and most  
affectionate seruant,

C. C.

*Endorsed by Nicholas, Sir Cha. Cotterell.*

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JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HOble,

Bruges, 26 Junij, 1658.

I have your 24 instant. I heard the same of the different councell of the D. of Y. and Pr. of Condé in the approach made

f. 258.

<sup>a</sup> Plaquilla, dimin. of Sp. placa, an old Spanish coin worth ten maravedis; so also Fr. plaque, "ancienne petite monnaie de Flandres" (Littré).

1658. by the Spanish army soe neere the French before they were fully provided of necessary defence, but it was singly resolved and I beleeve the Dutch here have that opinion. In the busines of Col. Grosse I conceived that the reembursement would be certeyne, whoever layed it out, but I know not who could lay downe the mony but Mr. Ford and therefore made application to him, whose readynes to comply therein proceeded, as I conceived, more from his respect to your writinge then to any other expectation, and, as I wrote you in my last, there needed not any further engagement in regard Mr. Ford granted what was desired. But wee have not taken the mony till wee have an answeere from the Col. and, if there be then a certenty that the mony wilbe repayed, it may be made vse of.

Wee had severall reports here of the reprove of Sr. H. Slingsby and the Dr., but the books tell vs the event. I beleeve that Cromwell hath gotten nothings by their execution, the men beinge of such reputacion and vertue. I wish their frindes doe them right and set forth the truth of what passed at their tryall and death; for I beleeve the booke<sup>a</sup> is very corrupt and agrees not with it selfe. I heard my lord of Bristoll past by and, though I beleeve he is not fond of the place where he is, yet he may not be back till a tyme of action, such as it is. I shall enquire for my Lo. Berkleyes<sup>b</sup> commyng, if he enquire not for me, and I beleeve he will not be niggardly of such relations as may make vs know our condition. I have not beene forth this mornynge, but they of the house tell me that the speech of the towne is that Dunkirke is rendred. I know not what to think of it, but shall speedily learne; but you will certainly have the truth of it by this post.

<sup>a</sup> Probably *The Tryals of Sir H. Slingsby, Kt., and J. Hewet, D.D., for high treason*. . . . *As also the manner of their execution on Tower-hill*, etc., London, 1658, 4°.

<sup>b</sup> Sir John Berkeley (vol. i. p. 97) was created Baron Berkeley of Stratton, 19 May, 1658.

1658.

It may have good effects, but I fear our tyme is not neere. I wonder not att the change of theis licencious creatures in shew of religion consideringe their relations and inclinations, and what an interest of livinge and power will worke with them; but I am sorry that wee are soe indifferent in that point that noe man is lesse loved or esteemed for his revolting nor any men affected for religion and honesty, and while that continues wee need not the practice or force of an enemy to hurt us. I thinke its happy if we cann noe more thinke on theis declensions of our condition; but the prospect of a perpetuall misery in this world to ourselves, church and nation is soe full of sadnes as it deprives a man of rest and comfort, and only our conscience and Godes mercifull infusions cann support vs. I wish your returne, and that next winter might not dissipate vs all; but Godes will be done, who knowes whats best for vs here to fit vs for hereafter. I shall resolve that nothing but the last necessity shall ever bringe me to Court till it be other then now it is. I know not how the Kinge cann be quiet while he is in theis dominions, for vnlesse he be active for them they will not give him wherewith to live; but if he might have that, I thinke he were happy to retyere, but not with the former formalities of State, which some cannot endure to thinke of, for they must solace themselves in contemplation of their owne greatnes over the small officers. I know not to what end the Kinge should make a short declaration, if there be noe action neere or if he withdrawe. But I thinke, if he retire, he should publish some large remonstrance of his case, which might be translated into severall languages and might be fit for all the christian princes to see, and that I would have done with great candour and cleernes, not balkinge the resolution to continue in his religion. And I beleeve it might have better effects then a shorter, both at home and abroade, but there is nothing to be offred to the masters save their owne actions. I wonder not that they that have beene ioynt in successeles counsell should linke the

1658. faster for it, being the credit of both. I shall think of each of theis as I heare from you, being

Your honours humble servant,

J. J.

*Endorsed by Nicholas, Mr. Jos. Jane. Would have a large declaracion.*

JOSEPH JANE TO JOHN NICHOLAS.

SIR,

Bruges, 28 Junij, 1658.

f. 257.

The reason why I thought the Kinge would not returne was because I thought that the iourny would be fruitlesse as to mony and that it soe appeared to them and therefore [he] went in order to the mayne designe, but it seemes its otherwise. My Lord Berkley came last night to this towne, and the equipage becomyng the title. But that which followes in yours makes it looke to me worse then a cart drawn by a payre of starved iades driven by a ragged paysant. I cannot thinke on it without indignation, especially concernynge your selfe. For cann any man be ignorant that his pattent must be written,<sup>a</sup> or cann he thinke that any man hath an obligation to doe it, or that you had any duty? I wonder not soe much at the neglect of others, perhapps by example of the Lord Langdale,<sup>b</sup> who, I thinke, compared notes with him, but that excuse to offer, forgetfulness after a letter written, is beyond all civility. I will neither conjecture nor enquire after the proceedings of our present politiques. I had much speech with him and wonder that not a word of this.

Vpon your fathers letter the mony was gotten for Col. Grosses ransom, but without it the D. of Yorke hath ransomed him and

<sup>a</sup> Apparently Lord Berkeley objected to paying John Nicholas his fees as Clerk of the Council for writing his patent.

<sup>b</sup> Sir Marmaduke Langdale, created Baron Langdale 4 Feb. 1658.

1658.

Capt. Mewes, as Trethewy writes me. You now heare of the death of the worthy Governor of Dunkirke and render of the towne, and some say the French are within the towne and y<sup>e</sup> English in the outworkes and have the Capuchins church for their exercises. Whether the towne wilbe delivered to Cromwell is not yet certain, as far as I heare, but, if not, it may produce some new thing. I made an end betwene Galbreth and Lendall and contented both. The wishing your returne works doubteth that it will not be [so] soone as desired, and its possible that, if there be any thing to be done wherein reputacion wilbe necessary, you wilbe kept that your presence may owne what you know not. I beleieve the Chancellor will not be slack to follow the Kinge, but that may not hasten your commyng away.

I read the books touching the tryall and death of the Dr., which certainly, could we see the truth, was most heroick and Christian, noe man yet exceedinge him, scarce equalling, and its to be doubted there is an eye vpon the presses that nothing come out to checke the rascall gazetteir. When I looke on our cause, there still comes some motion to hope, but then the persons and actions lay all in the dust, that there is noe love of vertue nor pittie to suffring persons, base pride and selfe interest, vayne glory in some, luxury and vanity in others and an insolent vndertaking in divers to controll and governe that neede tutors, which comes by the influence their boldnes hath vpon others, who by custome please their owne nature and receive only impressions from without. Religion is, however, scarce soe much as a property, for all is indifferent to vs and wee scarce know by what name to call ourselves. God must give new hartes before he give new blessinges, for in our condition it [is] mere presumption to hope. I heare nothing of Jo. Trelawny, but hope he is safe, for that in Dr. Hewetts charge one Trelawny is named and his christian name not mencioned, which makes me thinke they have him not, for, if they had, his name would have been precisely set downe. My Lo. Berkley is gone to the army this

1658. mornynge. Mr. Ellyott comes to you on Munday. Pray present  
my humble service to your father and continue your favour to  
Your faithfull frinde and servant,  
J. J.

## CAPTAIN PETER MEWS.

MOST HONOURED SIR,

Bruges, July 1<sup>st</sup>, 1658.

- f. 259. Since Providence, theire Royall Highnesses particular favour  
and y<sup>e</sup> kindeness of my freindes haue so successfully concurr'd to  
y<sup>e</sup> regayneing of my liberty, I thinke it a duty which I owe to  
truth and you to giue you an account of our unfortunate (or  
shall I say unsoldyer like) engagement at Run-away Sands, for  
I beleiue y<sup>e</sup> place wanted a proper name untill our miscarriage  
gaue it one.

Vpon y<sup>e</sup> 14<sup>th</sup> of June (a day once before fatal,<sup>a</sup> bateing but y<sup>e</sup>  
difference of y<sup>e</sup> accounts), our army beeing encampd about a  
league from y<sup>e</sup> enemy, they drew out of theire line to giue us  
battaile. Wee no sooner received y<sup>e</sup> alarum but wee advanced  
toward them with just as much reason as success, and I am con-  
fident, when all circumstances are impartially weighd, your selfe  
will concur in y<sup>e</sup> same opinion. For first, as concerning y<sup>e</sup> very  
act of fighting, it was most reasonable on y<sup>e</sup> French, to giue us  
battle and therefore most unreasonable for us to accept it, it  
beeing in our power to haue retreated. That which made it  
reasonable in them to fight us was y<sup>e</sup> impossibility of carrying  
on the seige of Dunkirk had wee layne without them, and there-  
fore they were forced to put it to y<sup>e</sup> issue of a battle, in which, if  
they succeeded, they were masters of theire designe and, if  
they were repulsed, could at last haue done that which they must  
haue done had wee refused them battle. Notwithstanding this,

<sup>a</sup> He refers to the battle of Naseby, 14 June, 1645. This account of the battle  
of the Dunes differs a good deal from those summarized by Prof. Firth, *Last  
Years of the Protectorate*, ii. pp. 192-201.

which certaynly might easily haue bin seene by persons of very ordinary reaches in such affaires, wee did not only resolute to fight, but, as wee fought with little resolution, so with as little judgement in quitting y<sup>e</sup> ground where wee were and advancing toward y<sup>e</sup> enemy, whereas in reason wee ought to haue drawne them farther from their trenches, as well to haue secured our army from y<sup>e</sup> shot of their canon (which raked us from their battery and from som boates on y<sup>e</sup> sea) as to make their re-treite more difficult in case wee had repulsed them. But errors in fact as well as opinion are allways fruitefull, and as this was y<sup>e</sup> issue of y<sup>e</sup> other so many more waited upon this. The army beeing thus advanced from its former post, each battalion (I speake only of y<sup>e</sup> infantry) was assigned its ground, which was for y<sup>e</sup> most part very ill chosen, especially that whereon his Maties Guards and y<sup>e</sup> E. of Bristols regiment (which made one batalion) <sup>a</sup> were placed, which was a little hill not capable to receiue haue (*i.e.* half) that number for service, which was not y<sup>e</sup> fault of our Colonel in y<sup>e</sup> least. When wee were drawne up, the orders wee received were that wee should not stirr from that ground and, though wee should repulse y<sup>e</sup> enemy, wee should not persue them. I can scarce hope to bee beleived, and yet I will affirme it for a truth, that a third of our men either had no arms at all or els those they had were, and ever had bin, unserviceable; that wee had not aboue 4 shots of powder and that y<sup>e</sup> worst that ever water wet, for so that had bin; that our match was so short that, while wee stood in veiwe of y<sup>e</sup> enemy, wee were forced to command our men to put out one end; that wee never had any word given vs nor order what marke to weare. Things beeing disposed in this disorder, y<sup>e</sup> battle began upon y<sup>e</sup> right

<sup>a</sup> At the battle of the Dunes the five weak regiments of Charles II. were formed into three battalions. The first battalion comprised the Guards and Bristol's Irish regiment under Blague, the second the Duke of York's Irish regiment under Muskerrey, and the third Ormonde's Irish regiment under Grace and Newburgh's Scots under Sir W. Urry (see *Trans. of Roy. Hist. Soc.* xvii. 1903, p. 85).

1658. hand, where their Royal Highnesses gave so brisk a charge that, had they bin seconded with one 100 horse, that wing (which consisted entirely of English) had bin totally routed ; and y<sup>e</sup> English themselves have told mee that they never saw so home a charge made with so few men. Pitty it is so much valor should bee exposed to danger, while y<sup>e</sup> most concern'd were little more then gentle spectators. The charge their Highnesses made gave a check to both foote and horse on that wing, which drew off one of y<sup>e</sup> battalions which was drawing downe to charge us to their assistance. The other batalion, knowing us by our soldyers hal-  
lowing to bee English (as som of their officers confesd to mee in y<sup>e</sup> French camp), and beleieving us to bee much stronger then wee were, did not aduance untill y<sup>e</sup> infantry on both wings being chargd with horse and foote was broken, our cavalerie, which was at least 12000, running directly out of y<sup>e</sup> feilde without makeing one charge, when one thousand horse well commanded would have redeemd all ; but I never yet saw men possesd with so unreasonable a feare. I will not pass a censure upon y<sup>e</sup> actions of particular regiments or persons that day ; as for his Maties Guards, they were purely passieue, as were 2 batalions of Spaniards and Walloons, not beeing chargd by y<sup>e</sup> enemy. Wee were y<sup>e</sup> last body standing in y<sup>e</sup> feilde, and for y<sup>e</sup> most part fell into y<sup>e</sup> hands of Mons<sup>r</sup>. Rambure's regiment and y<sup>e</sup> Loraine horse. I feare I shall not in hast see so good a body of English together. Could I see the same retrived, I should dare venture upon any service with them, for I beleive them as good men as can bee commanded ; but I feare their prisons will bee their graues. The common soldyers are sent for France and y<sup>e</sup> officers likewise, som few only excepted, who were prisoners under y<sup>e</sup> Loraine troops, viz. Careloss, Gross, Barker, Bevisham, Gwyn, Nayler and my selfe of his Maties Guards, with som others of the Scots and Irish regiments. And it was fortunate for us that wee fell under y<sup>e</sup> Loraines hands, Mons<sup>r</sup>. Turene refuseing to ransom or exchange any. Col. Slaughter dyd of his wounds, and Cap.

Curtiss, I feare, is likewyse kill'd. There did not fall many of our men into y<sup>e</sup> hands of y<sup>e</sup> English; but y<sup>e</sup> prisoners beeing all sent to Mardyke to bee shipd for Calais, they tooke hold of one Shaw my serjant, Sanders a serjant of y<sup>e</sup> Duke of Yorks regiment with 4 soldyers of ours and 2 of his Highnesses, all which were tryd at a Court of Warr and condemned. My serjant, findeing som freindes, was pardonned, the other cast dice for their liues, and 3 were to dy; out of them Sanders was chosen and hang'd. The French cut him downe as soone as hee was turnd off, but y<sup>e</sup> [Provost] Marshall immediately threw him into a graue and buryed him (as som of their soldyers told mee) aliue. There is something in y<sup>e</sup> consequence of this story very remarkeable, which makes mee y<sup>e</sup> more willing to giue you the relation, which is this. The same night my serjant with y<sup>e</sup> 4 soldyers of the regiment who had escaped the gallows were condemned to y<sup>e</sup> trenches upon as desperate a peice of service as any was dureing y<sup>e</sup> seige, beeing to breake a new ground within pistol shot of y<sup>e</sup> counterscarp. The same night 30 seamen were hired for 6 Rixdollers y<sup>e</sup> man to throw granadoes, and the service was so hot that, though not one of them came off unwounded and that the same night y<sup>e</sup> English lost 400 men upon that attacque, y<sup>e</sup> serjant and y<sup>e</sup> 4 soldyers came off free from any manner of hurt, which extraordinary deliverance did to my knowledge make a very greate impression upon y<sup>e</sup> soldyers of the army.

I had, while I was there, dayly opportunitys of converseing with the soldyers, which I did imploy as much as I could to his Maties service; and indeede I did not thinke after so greate a misfortune had befallne us to finde them so inclinable to our party, especially y<sup>e</sup> old soldyers, who I did feare had bin too much leuen'd with succesfull rebellion to haue a kindness for unfortunate loyalty. But I haue very good assurance of y<sup>e</sup> contrary; the only difficulty is that I doubt we shall never bee able to compass any generous end for want of those ordinary meanes by which it must bee effected. I did not meete among

1658. y<sup>e</sup> officers any of my particular acquaintance except Cap. Bedels of Nemegen, now Lt.-Col. there, who was so civil to mee to furnish mee with mony to redeeme my cloths, or els I had bin naked. I doe not finde him of the straine of y<sup>e</sup> rest,<sup>a</sup> who are a sort of the vainest people I ever discours'd with, and for their captaines and officers such a generation of clownes not likd (*i.e.* licked) into any shape of gentility that they are pointed at with scorne by y<sup>e</sup> whole army, and, as their owne soldyers haue told mee, y<sup>e</sup> greatest cowards imaginable, not dareing to shew their heads in y<sup>e</sup> trenches, but delivering their men to y<sup>e</sup> conduct of serjants and provideing wholly for their owne security.

There came over, while I was prisoner, a recruite of 1000 men, before which their regiments were very thin, and are not now above 4000 men, haueing lost by their owne confession 3000 since the seige and, I beleieve, would haue lost 3000 more had y<sup>e</sup> incomparable Marq. de Leda liv'd, the towne dying with him, which would otherways haue held 20 days longer. There was never a better defence made with so few men nor less ground gaynd with y<sup>e</sup> loss of so many. There was nothing of courage or conduct wanting on their parts, but both on ours, who should haue releivd them, the French line beeing y<sup>e</sup> poorest imaginable and their provisions scarce. It is y<sup>e</sup> misfortune of his Mat<sup>ties</sup> troops to bee in a Schoole of Errors, and the only advantage they can make is to learne by miscarriages. The discouragements wee meete with are greate, but our dutys must outweigh our necessities; for my selfe, I am resolv'd to bee miserable rather then quit my post untill commanded off. I cannot giue you any exact account of y<sup>e</sup> army at present, haueing not seene it since my release; but I finde a generall consternation possesses y<sup>e</sup> soldyery and a universall alienation of affection among y<sup>e</sup> people, and iff ruine bee not y<sup>e</sup> consequence of these 2, Providence must inter-

<sup>a</sup> On the character of the officers of the Cromwellian forces under Lockhart at Dunkirk on the French side, see *Trans. of the Roy. Hist. Soc.* xvii. App. A, p. 111.

pose very vigorously. While I was in y<sup>e</sup> French camp it was reported that Rocroy was besieged by La Ferté. Berghen<sup>a</sup> and Fort Link are both besieged by Turenne, and I beleive will bee no long work, though y<sup>e</sup> last of y<sup>e</sup> 2 bee very strong. I am told by one who came on Saturday from Neuport that that morning y<sup>e</sup> French tooke 150 of our horse a forageing, among which hee says my Lord Berkly lost 4, which is an ill wellcom to y<sup>e</sup> campania. I left Col. Blague upon y<sup>e</sup> mending hand on Friday, but since I heare hee is much better, the paper which was ram'd after y<sup>e</sup> bullet being come out of y<sup>e</sup> wound, which was as favourably desperate as most I haue seene. 1658.

I may now presume you are as sufficiently tyred with this relation as I was with my escape, for so I must call it, though I payd a ransom, beeing only brought a little from y<sup>e</sup> line and left to Providence for y<sup>e</sup> rest; which I hope will never forsake mee, while I prosecute a just cause, for, were that withdrawne, I could not bee tempted by advantages nor forc'd by any necessity to see that which is so abhorring to my disposition. I shall humbly desyre you to present my duty to his Ma<sup>tie</sup> with my service to my Lord Chancelour and to continue mee in your thoughts, there beeing none more yours then

Your most obedient servant,

P. MEWS.

Pray, iff my Lord of Norwich bee with you, let him receiue my service. I am this weeke returning to y<sup>e</sup> army, which was yesterday encampd betwixt Veurne<sup>b</sup> and Neuport.

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JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HOble,

Bruges, 3 July, 1658.

I received your 1 instant, and since the writing of my last Col. f. 263.  
Grosse and Captayne Mewes have byn here. Capt. Mewes is

<sup>a</sup> Bergues, S. of Dunkirk, invested on 27 June and taken two days later.

<sup>b</sup> Furnes, E. of Dunkirk, surrendered to Turenne 3 July.

1658. gone hence to the army this mornyng; Grosse went Satterday to Ostend by direction to speake with Ogniate, and said he would be back againe, but wee heare not of him yet. Wee have not yet thanked Mr. Ford for his readynes, though wee had not vse of it, but shall, God willinge. The newes here is that Berge is rendred and a place more, and they say our army lyeth on this side of Newport. I beleeve this place will not be pleasant to live in [in] the winter, and I cannot see what choice the Kinge hath, for he cannot give over the dependance on the Spaniard and, if he give over action, I doubt they wilbe slack in his pention, for they will expect some benifit by him, which wilbe very little in a retired condition. Besides I finde the servants endure not to heare of such a condition, each doubting to be omitted. I had much discourse with Lord Be[rkeley], who findes faults enough most obvious to every sight, and as little hope in the persons for the future; but, I perceive he is courted, and findes it soe as he will have his ends. In the meane tyme he complaynes of foule dealing towards him by some, and not without the ayme of others, and that his master is (as much as lyes in some) vndermynd by them. He hath now great advantages by the miscarryages of others and the regular government of the Dukes court and affaires, but, as he ever was, the politiques are only professed and in them an excessive clayme to foresight and infallibility, when its easily discerned the iudgment is *ex post facto*. T. E.<sup>a</sup> was with him and noe doubt intimate, having the same dislikes and much of the inclination. But on which side soever a man looke, religion and conscience are growen ridiculous, vnlesse professed in order to a fortune. And if I did see an amendment in that where it should be, I should yet have hope; but when I see the villayne Cromwell pursue his interest with all imaginable endeavours, and wee hope to gett strength without any demonstrations of affection to those from whence our helpe must come and are without zeale to the

<sup>a</sup> The letters are somewhat doubtful, but if they are correctly read, Thomas Eliot is probably meant.

religion wee professe or conscientious practice of piety and morall goodnes, I cann expect noe redemption from the present calamity. And for the enterprizes that have beene driven on, I finde wee have contributed little, but deluded those that would have done better without us. I beleeeve Cromwell must necessarily grow more odious by these executions, the persons being of such condition; and its very doubtfull to me what he meanes by those proceedings that he brings Sr. H. Bennett<sup>a</sup> and Woodcock to tryall without sufficient prooffe, whether it be to shew that there is iustice among them, that all suffer not, and thereby such as doe are thought more worthy to dy, or els it be vnadvised I cannot determyne; but he now presumes, having noe feare of any side now.

1658.

Col. Grosse is returned and is commyng to you, from whence he goes to Mechlyn about some busines of the regiment. He tells me the newes is that the English prisoners are sent into England, which is cruelly done of the French. I see not that Cromwell discovers any knowledge of a plott save this in London, and that not soe punctuall as was imagined. I shall not trouble you longer but take leave being ever

Your honours humblest servant,

J. J.

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SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup>,

Rendringe humble thanks for your fauour of  $\frac{28}{19}$  June, I concurre with your sense in that obseruation that noe mention was made in the print of the Duke of Yorke's valiant and generous behaiour; but this may bee thought the lesse strange since in the late printed large articles of the surrender of Dunkirque,

f. 265.

<sup>a</sup> Sir Humphrey Bennett. For the information against him and Capt. Thomas Woodcock see Thurloe, vii. p. 81, and for their trial, 10 June, p. 164. Woodcock was acquitted and the case against Bennett was dropped.

1658. . consistinge of two treaties, the one for the military and the other for the ciuile part concerninge the Magistracy, etc., there is not the least mention of Crumwell or the English, noe more then yf there had nott beene one English sword drawne in the quarrell, which doubtlesse is contriued purposely to preuent any disorder might arrise from the generall discontent the deliuey of that important place (yf knowne) into the hands of the English would produce. And some there are who are apt to thinke that there are other articles then these here published, which, yf soe, will bee easily discovered by your Honour there on that side, and I should bee glad by your fauour to know the truth.

The sabotiers<sup>a</sup> (as you will guesse) must now putt water in their wine. A courrier came yesterday from the Duke of Orleans with newes that they had beene defeated by the troupes sent against them, that twelve of the ringleaders who soe busily distributed the salt were hanged at Orleans, and that 4 gentlemen who adhered to them were taken prisoners. And, to preuent any further danger, the Kinge hath published his commands in print, forbiddinge any meetinge of the nobility vnder what pretence soeuer. This may lett you see in what a posture this Kingdome might probably haue beene, had butt Mar<sup>l</sup>. Hocquincourt<sup>b</sup> slept quietly in his bedd and the Spanish Commanders but kept theire army entire at any rate. I will nott fill this paper with the relation of what wee heare of the proceedings of the French army in takinge in the circumjoyning places to Dunkirke, that beinge sooner and better knowne to you in the butt too neere and small distance you are from those parts. The prisoners who serued his Ma<sup>ty</sup>., to the number of 400, are (I heare) brought to Amiens and the officers to Beauuais, all, both officers.

<sup>a</sup> A nickname applied to peasant insurgents, especially, it appears, in Beauce and Sologne (Littré, *s.v.*).

<sup>b</sup> Charles de Mouchy, Marquis d'Hocquincourt, made Maréchal in 1651. Moved by discontent he joined Condé and transferred his services to Spain, but in a reconnaissance of the French lines before Dunkirk, 12 June, 1658, was mortally wounded and died next day.

and soldiers, refuseinge to take seruice. And the Court (tis giuen out) will be at Amiens the 15<sup>th</sup> of this month, and that the Cardinal will in Sep<sup>r</sup>. goe to drinke the waters of Bourbon.

1658.

Hir Mat<sup>y</sup>. is goinge a small progresse, first to my Lord Crofts<sup>a</sup> house at Colombe, and then to Pontoise, where Mr. Montague<sup>b</sup> makes the entertainment; and there also shee will assist at the ceremonies when a faire younge lady,<sup>c</sup> daughter to the Duke of Sully and grandchild to the Chancellor, doth, contrary to the will of hir parents, who would faine marry hir, make hir last compleate religious vow. She was in hir childhood sent to bee bredd with hir great aunt, the Chancellors sister, who is Abbess there, and hath taken soe great a likinge to that monastique life that she will now by noe perswasion of freinds nor the powerfull attractiues of wealth and wedlocke bee drawne out of hir cloister. . . .

My last of this day seauenight gaue you an account of your commands concerninge Sr. Thomas Windebanke and Mr. Keipe, who is now gone for England, soe that I shall haue none of his helpe in the perfectinge the Catalogue of euergreenes about which I am now at worke in order to the fullfillinge your desire. Alaternes<sup>d</sup> beare a graine like that of priuet, which beinge sowed comes vpp and prospers without difficulty. . . .

Your Honours most faithfull and most  
humble seruant,

Q. N.

Paris, 5<sup>e</sup> July, 1658.

*Endorsed*: Sir Ri. Browne concerninge y<sup>e</sup> grayne or seed which is borne by Alaterne.

<sup>a</sup> William Crofts (vol. ii. p. 143), created Baron Crofts of Saxham, Suffolk, 18 May, 1658.

<sup>b</sup> Abbé Walter Montague (vol. i. p. 220, note).

<sup>c</sup> Madeleine Françoise, daughter of Maximilien de Béthune, Duc de Sully, who married Charlotte, daughter of the Chancellor Pierre Séguier.

<sup>d</sup> *Rhamnus alaternus*, a species of buckthorn, a native of S. W. Europe, introduced into England in the seventeenth century or earlier.

1658.

JOSEPH JANE.

RIGHT HO<sup>ble</sup>,

Bruges, 15 Jul. 1658.

f. 269.

. . . An alarum that the French gave vs at the walles of the towne on Satterday mornynge kept Don John here, having resolved to have followed the procession at Bruxelles, which he performed here at Bruges. They tooke away some horses of my lord Newburgh at the very gate, which could not come into the towne the evenynge before. Things must needs grow very deare in this place. There is a fresh report here of the death of the King of France, but I beleewe little of it; that he is sicke all take for granted. The D[uke] of G[loucester] is much respected among the better sort here, though among the rabble the name of English is vngratefull to them. . . .

Your honours humblest servant,

JOSEPH JANE.

SIR GEORGE LANE.

RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup>,

f. 283.

Haueing had the good fortune to meete with Don Melchior de Portocarrero (a gent. of Don Juans chamber) at Gand, who would needs doe me the fauour to bring me allong with him in his coach, I came hither soe tymely yesterday as to deliuer my letter to Don Juan, who was pleased to receiue me very kindly and to promise me a speedy dispatch. If I get any, I must haue it quickly, for they say he goes from hence tomorrow or next day at farthest with all the force he can make, some think towards Ipre. The Marquis of Caracene is expected heere this night to march along with his Highnes, and the Duke of Yorke is to remaine with all his Ma<sup>tes</sup> troopes at Newport, but the D. of Gloucester goes with Don Juan. I pray lett my lord Chauncellor and the Lord L[ieutenan]<sup>t</sup> know that they are much behoulding to some who

\* Ormonde, nominally Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

haue spread a report heere of their being gone into England to Cromwell. Its fatherd vpon some Spaniards and burgers of this towne; but they will, I beleuee, guesse whence it flowes. I shall endeauour to informe my selfe of the authors, who ought certanely, if they be of his Mat<sup>es</sup> subjects, to find that he will be highly displeased at any who shall presume to asperse his faithfull ministers and seruants. For all this talke of Don Juans goeing, I dare say it will not be soe soone; howeuer, I may assure you that any commands of yours will find me here till Fryday. I am with all the respect imaginable,

1658.

Right Hon<sup>ble</sup> and deere father,<sup>a</sup>  
Your most obedient son and humble servant,  
G. LANE.

## MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.

GOOD MR. SECRETARY,

Hooghstraet,<sup>b</sup> 24 Aug. 1658.

The King comands mee to tell you that hee is willing to graunt a passe to Collonell Charles Kelly, who is no longer able to attend for an imployment in his seruice, for which I am sorry, knoweing him to bee as proper for it as any of his condition. The passe must containe the ordinary attestations. Sir Henry de Vic is by this time with you. I hope hee brings you beter hopes then hee hath yet sent vs. Our condition is most sad, and the more that there appeares noe visible way out of it; yet I will see you satisfied for your gilt letter. My Lord of Bristol is dangerously ill, as his disease is represented to vs. My service to your son. I am

f. 285.

Your most affectionate humble seruant,  
ORMONDE.

<sup>a</sup> His wife was Susanna Nicholas, Sir Edward's daughter (vol. ii. p. 325, note).

<sup>b</sup> A draft of a letter from the King to the Count of Grimberg, stating his intention to go to Hoogstraeten for a few days and requesting him "de nous faciliter la chasse et les autres commodités du lieu," is in Eg. MS. 2536, f. 281.

1658.

SIR WILLIAM CURTIUS.<sup>a</sup>

SIR,

f. 286b.

. . . . The next month the mariage betwixt Princesse Sophia,<sup>b</sup> sister to the Elector Palatin, and Duke Ernst Augustus of Brunswig will be celebrated at Heidelberg. But because the Prince will come *a l'incognito* and desires no great cerimonys or feasts, we cannot as yet know the day. In the meane while the Electricc,<sup>c</sup> forseeing that her beeing kept asunder all this while did imply that neither then shee might be admitted, hath desired an *esclaircissement* by the Prince of Landsberg, who (by order) hath giuen her the resolution that it should be then as now and, sinze shee could not ouercome her humour, it would be more convenient not to come to the compaigny. . . .

I am euer

Your most humble and most obliged seruant,

W. CURTIUS.

Francof[urt] 25 Aug. 58.

SIR ALEXANDER HUME.<sup>d</sup>

SIR,

Hage,  $\frac{3}{4}$  Septemb. 1658.

f. 289b.

. . . . From Middelburg wee haue heard of late of the death of two uery honest men shortly after one another, good Mr. Jane and the Lord Naper. The first I presume wes of a great age, but the other wes yet in the flower of his youth and might by the course of nature haue liued many yeares to serue his prince and his cuntrie. He wes certainly a person of as much loyalty and honour as any subject the King hath, and the losse of him is very

<sup>a</sup> Resident for the King at Frankfort (vol. i. p. 307).<sup>b</sup> Daughter of Frederic, Elector Palatine and King of Bohemia, and Elizabeth, daughter of James I. By this marriage she became mother of George I.<sup>c</sup> Charlotte, daughter of William, Landgrave of Hesse, married to the Elector Charles Louis in 1650. See below, p. 107.<sup>d</sup> Chamberlain to the Princess of Orange.

deplorable, especially in the maner it is related, whereof I doute not but you will receive information from the place. Wee are now in great expectation to hear what this late great accident<sup>a</sup> will produce in England. God send us to hear something that may be comfortable.

1658.

I am euer faithfully, Sir,  
Your most affectionat and humble seruant,  
A. HUME.

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CHARLES II. TO LORD NAPIER<sup>b</sup> AND HIS MOTHER.<sup>c</sup>

Right trusty and welbeloued, We greete you well. We haue with much sorrow and trouble understood of our great and particular losse as well as yours in the death of your worthy father, of whose person and eminent loyalty We had, as he deserved, a singular esteeme. And as We retaine a gracious memory of his faithfull seruices, as well formerly donne under his gallant vncke the late Marquis of Montrosse<sup>d</sup> as lately here in these countrys in Our owne troopes, soe shall Wee on all occasions be ready to recompence the same in such sorte to your self and those of neerest relation to him (when it shall please God to enable Vs) as the world shall see the vallue We haue for a person so perfectly loyall and entirely affected to Vs and Our interests:

f. 295.

<sup>a</sup> The death of the Protector Cromwell on 3 Sept.

<sup>b</sup> Archibald, 3rd Lord Napier, for whose letter on his father's death to the King, dated Middelburg, 1<sup>st</sup> Sept. see *Cal. St. Pap.* 1658-59, p. 141. He died unmarried in 1683.

<sup>c</sup> Elizabeth Erskine, daughter of John, 8th Earl of Mar, married 1641. After the Restoration she obtained a yearly pension of £500 and lived till 1683.

<sup>d</sup> Archibald, 1st Lord Napier, married in 1619 Margaret Graham, daughter of John, 4th Earl of Montrose, and sister of James, 1st Marquis. There was a saying that Montrose and his nephew were "like the Pope and the Church, who wold be inseparable" (Douglas, *Scots Peerage*, ed. Paul, vi. p. 425). Douglas wrongly dates the 2nd Lord Napier's death at the beginning of 1660.

1658. assuring you that Our present condition is in nothing more grievous to Vs then that it affords Vs not meanes to reward (as We desire) those worthy persons that haue so exceedingly well deserved of Vs. Given, etc., 2<sup>d</sup> October, 1658, Bruxells.

Right Trusty and welbeloued, We greete you well. Being very sensible of Our owne and your great losse in the late death of your worthy Lord and husband, We would not omitt to condole with you as well your as Our particular misfortune therein, assuring you that, as Wee set a great vallue on his remarkable loyalty and very faithfull services, so We will be mindefull on any good occasions to recompence the same to your self, or any of his, whensoever it shall please God to put Vs into a condition to reward such vertuous persons for their loyalty and constant affections to Vs and Our interests. Your younger sonne<sup>a</sup> we haue already taken into Our seruice and shall be carefull of him as the sonne of so vertuous parents, and, when God shall enable Vs, We shall not faile to do for the elder (being both very hopeful youths) in such sorte as shall make appeare the gracious esteeme We retaine of his gallant fathers meritts in Our service. Given, Bruxells, 2 October, 1658.

*Copies in the hand of John Nicholas, with dates added by Sir Edward.*

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CHARLES II. TO THE MINISTER OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH AT  
AMSTERDAM.

- f. 304. Trusty and welbeloued, We greete you well. We have receaved so full a testimony from persons to whome We give entire credit of your good affection to Our person and zeale to Our service that We are willing to recommend an affaire to you in which We are very much concerned. We doe not wounder that the malice of

<sup>a</sup> John Napier, killed in a naval action against the Dutch in 1672.

1658.

Our ennemys should continue to lay all manner of scandalls vpon Vs which might take away Our reputation, but that they should find credit with any to make Our affection to the Protestant Religion in any degree suspected is very strange; since the world cannot but take notice of Our constant and vninterrupted profession and exercise of it in those places where the contrary Religion is only practised and allowed. And though We doe not boast of doing that which We should be heartily ashamed if we did not doe, We may reasonably beleeeve that noe man hath or can more manifest his affection to and zeale for the Protestant Religion then We have done or in some respects hath more suffered for it; and therefore We are the more sensibly affected that those calumnys can make impression to Our disadvantage in the mindes of honest and pious men, as We are informed they have done. And We doe the rather impart the sence We have of Our suffering in this particular to you because, as you have the charge of the English congregation in Amsterdam, so you cannot but have much conversation and acquaintance with the Ministers of the Dutch church and others in that populous place, with whome We would not suffer so unjust and scandalous an imputation. And We presume and expect from you that you will vse your utmost diligence and dexterity to roote out those unworthy aspersions so maliciously and groundlesly layd upon Vs by wicked men; and that you assure all who will give credit to you that We valew Our selfe soe much vpon that part of Our title of being Defendor of the Faith that noe worldly temptations can ever prevayle with Vs to swarve from it and the Protestant Religion in which We have been bredd, the propagation whereof We shall endeavour with Our vtmost power. And as We shall never faile in the performance of Our duty herein, so We shall take the offices you shall doe in vindicating Vs from these reproaches very well from you; in which We promise Our selfe you will serve Vs effectually. And soe We bid you farwell. Given, &c., Bruxells, 7<sup>th</sup> 9<sup>ber</sup>, 1658.

1658. *Copy by John Nicholas; the date added by Sir Edward, with the docket, To Mr. Price, minister of y<sup>e</sup> Engl. Church of Amsterdam—Mr. Cauton, minister of y<sup>e</sup> Engl. Ch. att Rotterdam.<sup>a</sup>*

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CHARLES II. TO DON ALONSO DE CARDENAS.

MONSIEUR L'AMBASSADEUR,

- f. 306. J'ay si souvent representé mes necessités à Monsieur mon Frere et Cousin Don Jean d'Austriche qu'il ne me reste plus rien à dire sur ce sujet; mais comme le Chevalier de Vic a ordre de luy d'en conferer avec vous, J'ay voulu y demander vos bons offices. Et pour vous faire voir combien ils me sont necessaires, Je vous puis asseurer qu'il y a cinque jours que mes chevaux n'ont mangés d'avoine et que le foin leur manquera demain. Toutes autres choses dans ma maison sont dans le mesme desordre, et si on n'y apporte un prompt remede je me verray reduit à des extremités tout à fait scandaleuses. Je vous prie d'employer tout vostre credit pour m'en guarentir et de croire que Je seray tous-jours, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, etc.,

à Bruxelles, ce 11<sup>me</sup> Novembre, à huit heures du Soir.

*Copy by John Nicholas.*

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DECLARATION OF CHARLES II.

Eg. 2542, f. 275. Charles, etc., to all our subiects of what condicion, quallity religion, interest, or perswasion soeuer in our kingdomes of England, etc.

Since it hath pleased Almighty God to put a period to the life of Oliver Cromwell, who did not only principally act in the murther of the King our father of ever blessed memory but hath for nine yeares with vnparraleld tyranny and oppression vsurped

<sup>a</sup> *Clar. St. Pap.*, iii. p. 419. William Price was minister at Amsterdam from 1648 till his death 6 July, 1666. Thomas Cawton, when minister of St. Bartholomew's, London, was involved in a royalist plot in 1651, but escaped and became minister at Rotterdam, where he died 7 Aug., 1659.

1658.

the Royall Authority vnder the tytle of Protector, destroyed the lawes, and inuaded y<sup>e</sup> propriety and liberties of all our subiects of the 3 kingdoms of England, Scotland and Ireland. And whereas since his death a faccious party of his Army and Councell have declared and proclaymed his sonne Richard Cromwell to succeede him in the vsurped power and tytle of Protector; which act as it still depriues vs of our Royall Authority and iust Right of Gouernment of our people, soe all lovers of the honour and peace of the 3 kingdomes and of the safety of their liues, liberties and estates and the Auntient Lawes, Religion and Gouernment cannot but with indignacion and contempt submitt vnto the Arbitrary Gouernment and Tyranny of a meane person whose pretence is only founded on iniustice and tyranny. Wee doe therefore hold ourself bound in duty to God, and for the good of our people, to require and comaund all our subiects of our 3 Kingdomes of what condicion, quallity, religion, interest or perswasion soeuer seriously to recollect themselves and to endeauour actiueley and speedily by all wayes and meanes possible to restore vs to our Royall Authority and iust power of gouernment and themselves vnto their auntient lawes and liberties, and to that end imediately to put themselves into armes and to resist, oppose and destroye the said vsurper Richard Cromwell and all his adherents. And that the feare of punishment for any former offences or accions against vs may not deterre any of them from engaging in soe great and glorious an vndertaking, wee doe hereby freely giue our full and gracious pardon to all our subiects of our 3 kingdomes of what condicion or quallity soeuer (except the murtherers of the king our father of euer blessed memory) who shall speedily and actiueley engage themselves in our behalf, and shall farther not only graciously confirme vnto euery of them their fortunes and estates but shall royally reward them according to their merrite and endeauours in order to our iust Restitucion. And this our declaracion shall be to all and euery of them as full and ample authority as if euery of them hath our commission for the doing this, wee hereby

1659. assuring all our subiects that wee will not fayll speedily by our personall presence among them [not only] to vindicat (with their due assistance) our iust rights but to protect and reward them according to their merrite and seruice donne vnto vs in this soe proper and iust occasion.

*Rough draft by Nicholas, partly in shorthand.*

---

MAJOR GEN. EDWARD MASSEY.<sup>a</sup>

SIR,

Eg. 2536,  
f. 327.

Monday morning last *wee came hither* and haue taken this post as the first opertunity (the winde being east) to tell you so much. Mr. 904 (*Tytus*) and 866 (*Ma : G : Massy*) parted Monday evening, he to his old lodging, that Mr. 29 (*I*)<sup>b</sup> hath not seen him since, but I applyed myself to my businesse and *deliuered the letter* 872 (*Sec. Nicholas*) gaue him (*i.e.* me) and therupon hath had conference concerning the trade with those intrusted, who gaue only a gennerall accoumpt of what had formerly passed therin. Since which I haue met with 828 (*Mr. Clayton*),<sup>c</sup> from whom I haue received a more particuler accoumpt of things as the[y] formerly were, but of the present condition [he] only hopeth that the accoumpt standeth fayre as it did, since he hath not heard *that anything* hath since occasioned any alteration therof. But for a more certen information therin 866 (*Massey*) hath put them vpon a reuiue and enquiry, as not conceiueing amisse of the re-

<sup>a</sup> This and following letters from Massey were written when he was in England on a secret mission with Capt. Silius Titus concerning an intended rising in the west. They are signed "Tristram Thomas" or with the cipher 866, but Nicholas in the endorsements calls the writer "Mr. Minden". The words printed in italics are interlinear decipherers.

Some confusion is caused by the writer speaking of himself in the first person and (when using his cipher-number) in the third indifferently.

<sup>c</sup> William Clayton, of whose "great industry in the business of Bristol" Nicholas writes on  $\frac{1}{2}$  Dec. 1659 (*Cal. St. Pap.* 1659-60, p. 280). He was informed against by T. Hanchett 26 Apr. 1658 (*Thurloe*, vii. p. 97).

lation, if it stand vpon so good termes as it is s[ai]d to bee and may come to a good account to the principles, especially if *other partes of the kingdome be so set [that] God may giue vs an occasion to make use thereof.* Mr. 884 (Popham)<sup>a</sup> hath beene lately sick but recouered, to whom I haue send to know if he will confer about y<sup>e</sup> account with Mr. Massey, that so he may the better g[r]ound himselfe in y<sup>e</sup> account and the better follow the trade. He hath likewise spoken with *some chief persons of London and of the cabal with Browne<sup>b</sup> and the rest of this Citty Parliament men*, who gaue him a meeteinge and shewed him how much reason they had to feare that such as haue *good desire to serve the King* wil haue little power to effect anything for the good of his account. *Cromwells party being so strong in the Parliament*, this hope only resteth to Mr. Kassetts (*King of Englands*) good men. They may perhaps be able to account with the *Republick Party and pres them on* to interrupt Mr. 824 (Cromwell) in his course or to cause him<sup>c</sup> with *impatience* to prosecute his businesse, for that only can ruine him in his estate, since *they assure me that the Republique party and Anabaptist mallice is great against Cromwell*, that, if they can cause them to come to account with Cromwell and breake out into some distemper, the *Kings friends may find an opportunity to fit themselves for a better opposition*, and that is now all the present designe, for they feare that *Cromwell will carry the House of Lords against them all*. I am likewise assured from a verrey good hand that *the Anabaptiste is mad at Cromwell*, and am

<sup>a</sup> Col. Alexander Popham, of Littlecote, one of Cromwell's peers in 1657. Orders to search his house near Bristol for arms were issued 29 July, 2 Aug. 1659 (*Cal. St. Pap.* pp. 50, 68).

<sup>b</sup> Maj.-Gen. Richard Browne, M.P. for London. On 26 Mar. 1659, the House annulled the vote of 4 Dec. 1649, disabling him from the office of alderman, etc. Later in the year he was implicated in Sir G. Booth's rising, but was successfully concealed at Stationers' Hall.

<sup>c</sup> For the purpose of deception "Mr." is prefixed to this and several other numerical ciphers not representing proper names.

1659. assured that, if Mr. Kasset (*the King*) would but giue out any Declaration that all men should haue liberty of conscience, they would all stand for him ere Cromwell should carry it. The which resolution I shall not be [b]acward to farther them in, as a principall meanes by which Mr. Kasset (*the King*) may haue a fayre account of the goods resting, and shall giue them all the security I can in the meane tyme that the acquittance shalbe made as full as they can desire it, haueing assured them that they shall find *the King* verry just and vpriight in his dealeing with them. By the next I hope to be able more fully to addjust the account and lett the Arbitrators doe what seemes good vnto them. Mr. Titus and Ma: G<sup>r</sup>: Massey are to meete this evening to adjust their accounts, who could not meete before, so that this is all I can say to you at present, who shall want nothing of care or dilligence that may be for your service, being, Sir,

Your most faithfull servant,

TRISTRAM THOMAS.

London, 1<sup>st</sup> March, 1659.

By the next I shall send you an addresse for yours to finde my handes.

Addressed, For Mr. Charles Ledison these; endorsed by Nicholas, 1<sup>st</sup> Marcij, 1659, R. 1<sup>st</sup>. Mr. Minden.

f. 936.

MARQUIS OF NEWCASTLE.

NOBLE SIR,

I thanke you for your laste and your fauors to mee in presentinge my humble thankes to the Kinge. I thanke God, I am for the time verye much mended; for age, I am in less then a yeare off you and hope wee maye both liue to see better times, for I will alwayes hope the beste. The Duke off Gloster wente awaye this morninge, and the Earle of Norwich gallopinge alonge

with him, as also my Lord Barkleye. The younge Ladye, M<sup>s</sup> Hide,<sup>a</sup> her brother, and Docter Morleye<sup>b</sup> wente awaye this morninge to[o]. The Noble Lorde off Ormonde and his companye will bee with you to morowe. The Earle off Norwich within a fewe dayes will bee with you to[o]. I spoke with a younge gentleman, one Mr. Smith, newlye coumde oute of England; hee thinkes that Cromwell and the Parlamente<sup>c</sup> will agree, butt I thinke hee knowes litle. Butt I spoke with an other, an elderlye man and a stoute, that servde in my armeye, and hee sayes theye will faule to peeces and that ther will bee greate factions and diuitions in Englande. The merchants haue itt heer that sertenlye ther will bee no peace between the two Crowns and that the treatye is absolutlye broke; others saye that itt is peeingne agayne. Theye reporte confidently that some Englishe shippes haue mett with some Spanishe ships and sunke them, butt I doe nott beleue itt. Nowe iff you can make anye thinge oute of all this, you doe verye well, for I proteste I can nott. Pray remember my seruice to my Lord Chanselor and thanke him for his fauors, and so I reste constantlye

Your moste faythfull seruaunte,  
W. NEWCASTLE.

Antwerpe, the 2<sup>th</sup> off Aprill, 1659.

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MARY KNATCHBULL.

R<sup>tt</sup>. Hol<sup>l</sup>. Sir,

. . . . I will presume to troble your Honour with a little nuse writt me from my Lady Abbess of Pontoise, though I doubt not but you heare it otherwise. She saith my Lord Percy<sup>d</sup> dyed

f. 337.

<sup>a</sup> Anne Hyde, to whom the Duke of York gave a secret promise of marriage at Breda, 24 Nov. 1659. The marriage took place 3 Sept. 1660.

<sup>b</sup> George Morley, D.D. (vol. i. p. 208).

<sup>c</sup> Richard Cromwell's Parliament met 27 Jan. 1659, and was dissolved 22 April.

<sup>d</sup> Vol. i. p. 117. His body was taken to England for burial (*Cal. St. Pap.* 1658-59, pp. 335, 562).

1659. on the 26 of last month att night and was visited very kindly by our Queene, and that my Lord Jermin and Mr. Montague were his exequitors. On the 25, being our Lady Day, Princes Louis was cloathed with the habitt of Religion in the greate Bernardin Abbey called Moubeson att Pontoise, where the Duke of Longaueils sister<sup>a</sup> is abbess. She was led in by Prince Edward her brother, and the Mass and Ceremony was performed very solemnly by the Bishop of Amiens. With much humillity and zeale she hath refused some priviledges that were offered her, desiring to apply her self to the mortification of her state, wherin she hath giuen much edification. . . .

Your Honours faithfull humble seruant,  
 MARY KNATCHBULL,  
 Abbess unworthy.

This 2<sup>d</sup> of Aprill, 1659.

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COL. JAMES TURNER.<sup>b</sup>

- f. 341. R<sup>t</sup> HONO<sup>ll</sup>,

I am informed by my noble friend Sir William Flemyng that you were pleased to show a great deale of readienes to draw a letter to the King of Denmark in my behalfe from his Majesty. I must confesse that I have not yet done any thing that might challenge so much kindnes from you, and therfor I stand obliged in the future to indeavor the makeing any opportunitie wherby I may witnes my thankfullnes to you; which I shall be very readie to make appeare in any thing is within the reach of my pouer.

<sup>a</sup> Catherine Angélique d'Orléans, natural daughter of Henry II., Duke of Longueville, abbess of Maubuisson, 1653-64. She was succeeded by the Princess Louise (above, p. 33).

<sup>b</sup> The well-known soldier of fortune, afterwards Sir James Turner, who commanded the forces in Scotland against the Covenanters in 1666-68; author of *Pallas Armata*, 1683, and of *Memoirs*, privately printed *circ.* 1819.

I have desired Sir William to deliver a paper to you in which I have shortlie given you a true account of my busienes in relation to Denmark and the particulars I desire to be recommended to that King by his Majesty our gracious master, which when you have perused I am hopefull you will thinke my desires both modest and reasonable. I have beene unfortunate in that vndertakeing, for the levie being discharged by the estates heere (which did infinite hurt to the King of Denmark) I am put to looke for repayment of what I disbursed (which is considerable), the King of Denmarks principall minister heere refuseing to look vpon my accounts, as knoweing he wold be found addebted to me more then it seemes he is willing to pay. All this my lord Newburgh vndertooke long agoe to represent to his Majesty, bot his lordship never gave me any account of it.

I am affrayd the King of Denmarks condition shall be bot bad, notwithstanding his last successe in repulseing the Sued at Coppenhaven. The Holland fleet will not be readie in three weekes. The French ambassador and Douning propouse an accommodation betweene the two northerne kings and that neither the English nor Holland navies shall goe to the Sound, bot this will prove fallacious on the English side as being readier to goe thither. Nixt they propose that both fleets shall goe, giveing first mutuall assureance that no acts of hostilitie shall passe betweene them there, bot shall necessitate both kings to accept of peace on such conditions as they shall propose. And if in that peace the English force the K. of Denmark to exclude the Emperor and the Elector of Brandenburg, he is in a bad condition, they being masters of the hereditarie Dutchie of Holstein and all Jutland, which is more then the halfe of his kingdome. I shall trouble you no further after I have subscribed myself, Rt Hono<sup>ll</sup>,

Your most humble faithfull servant,

JA. TURNER

Haag, 4 Aprill, 1659.

*Endorsed by Nicholas, Col. Turner.*

1659.

## PERCY CHURCH.

RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup>,This 4<sup>th</sup> of April, 1659.

f. 343.

. . . . I am most hartely glad your Honour is soe confident that there are *noe discontents betweene the King and his brothers*, and shall not bee ill pleased if *Mr. H. Jermyns<sup>a</sup> coming relate either to a welthy marriage or an interview betweene his Ma<sup>tie</sup> and the Quene of England*, which I alsoe haue lately heard whispered. The Englishe fleet, consisting of betweene 40 and 50 sayle, were with there Admirall Mountague vpon Tuesday last at y<sup>e</sup> Downes expecting orders, and beleeuing that the Holland fleete was parted with there 4000 land men, which if eare this they bee not, may they hereafter suffer with there Louestin faction<sup>b</sup>. I beleeeue some hopefull newes is lately come from Spaine, for now y<sup>e</sup> Peace begins to bee much spoken of, notwithstanding that the treatie with England and France is sayed to haue bine renewed for this yeare without y<sup>e</sup> arriuall of Lockhart, whoe Satterday last was certainly not parted from Dunkerke, though his secretarie Capt. Cooke was some dayes before returned from England.

My letter of Twesday last from London, dated the  $\frac{17}{27}$  of March, sayes that y<sup>e</sup> Parliament is as actiue as euer in words but concludes nothing, howeuer they sometimes sitt till midnight. Mr. Chute<sup>c</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Speaker continues indisposed, and hee that was chosen on Thursday last to supply y<sup>e</sup> place died yesterday, and now one Bampfield, a Commonwealths man, hath gott the chaire. They haue remitted all debates of businesses, and are now only vpon dispute whether y<sup>e</sup> Irishe and Scotch members shall bee excluded

<sup>a</sup> Nephew of Henry, Lord Jermyn. He was created Baron Dover in 1685, and Earl of Dover 9 July, 1689, by James II. after his abdication.

<sup>b</sup> The party in Holland hostile to the House of Orange, so called from the Castle of Lovestein, where its leaders were confined by William II. in 1650.

<sup>c</sup> Speaker Chaloner Chute petitioned for discharge or leave of absence 9 March, and Sir Lislebone Long, Recorder of London, was elected as his deputy. Long's death was reported to the House 16 March. Thomas Bampfield, M.P. for Exeter, was chosen to succeed him, and was made Speaker on Chute's death  $\frac{14}{14}$  April.

or not.<sup>a</sup> If the Court party preuayle for theire continuance, they will bee to hard for theire subtile aduersaries, otherwise not, y<sup>e</sup> difference consisting of about 30 votes. Ouerton<sup>b</sup> is freed of imprisonment by y<sup>e</sup> Parliament and, as I heare, now chosen an member of y<sup>e</sup> howse, wherein there are 9 leading men whoe vpon occasion much obstruct Cromwells partie and haue gained a Committie for examining y<sup>e</sup> illegal commitments, extortion of fees, and y<sup>e</sup> hard vsage of prisoners, and haue begune with Backster,<sup>c</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Liutenant of y<sup>e</sup> Tower, and accepted y<sup>e</sup> Lady Hewets<sup>d</sup> petition against y<sup>e</sup> High Court of Justice in behaulfe of her husbands vniust death. General Mountague is gone to y<sup>e</sup> fleete with designe, as beleued, for y<sup>e</sup> Sound, if y<sup>e</sup> Dutch by beeing aforehand (as 'tis feared) preuent it not. . . .

1659.

*Unsigned; endorsed by Nicholas, Per. Ch.*

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SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup>,

. . . . The issue of the Treaty is yett a secret in the Cardinal's brest. The Queene Mother (though the marriage bee broken, for the Emperor must haue the Infanta<sup>e</sup>) seemes still passionatly desirous of peace, sayinge, "Why should two or three townes more or lesse hinder soe great a blessinge to all Christendome?" The Grandees who are neerest and most conuersant with the

f. 344.

<sup>a</sup> It was resolved 21 March that the Scotch members, and 23 March that the Irish members, should be allowed to sit.

<sup>b</sup> Maj.-Gen. Robert Overton, confined in the Tower and in Jersey since Dec. 1654 on a charge of projecting a military revolt. Parliament ordered his release 16 March, 1659, but it does not appear that he was elected a member of the house.

<sup>c</sup> Col. John Barkstead, the regicide, appointed 12 Aug. 1652, and replaced by Col. Thomas Fitch 16 June, 1659 (*Cal. St. Pap.* p. 370).

<sup>d</sup> Mary, daughter of Robert Bertie, 1st Earl of Lindsey, widow of Dr. John Hewett (above, p. 41).

<sup>e</sup> The Infanta Maria Theresa was married to Louis XIV. 9 June, 1660, and her sister Margaret to the Emperor Leopold 12 Dec. 1666.

1659. Prime Minister speake butt dubiously and coldly of it; the many and well affected abroad are more sanguine, talke of a second more ample power arriued about 15 dayes since to Piemantell,<sup>a</sup> and that within a short time a courrier is to come from Madrid (retarded there by the Kinge of Spaines indisposition, who hath had some fitts of an ague) with the finall conclusion and assent of that Kinge.<sup>b</sup> I pray God these good Patriots doe not, like the Sabines, dream what the[y] would haue come to passe. Meane-time the preparations for the campagne goe on, and the drumm beates loudly here in this towne for the raysinge of recreuts; and noe newes at all of the Spanish fleete in the last letters of the 12 past from Madrid ought to allay somewhat of the Spanish ardor for the prosecution of this unprofitable warre. Mr. Lockheart is not yett come. They now say hee and his wife to avoyde the danger of the incursions made into Picardy by the garrison of Hesdin will embarque at Dunkirke and soe come by sea to Dieppe. . . . By the English prints it seemes the Parlament intends sufficiently to deplume the Pseudo-Protector's winges. God inspire them with thoughts of loyalty, submission and obedience to their lawfull souueraigne, or by the confusion of their impious and rebellious councells and proceedinges make way for the speedy establishment of his Maty on the Throsne of his Royall Progenitors. I humbly kisse your hands and rest

Your Honours most faithfull and  
most humble seruant,

Q. N.

Paris, this 4<sup>th</sup> Aprill, 1659, S<sup>o</sup>. N<sup>o</sup>.

Endorsed, 4<sup>o</sup> April, R. 8<sup>o</sup>, 1659. S<sup>r</sup> R. Browne.

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<sup>a</sup> Don Antonio Pimentel de Herrera y Quiñones, Conde de Benevente. He was charged with a commission from Philip IV. to Anne of Austria in Nov. 1658, and received power to prepare the way for a peace between France and Spain 11 Feb. 1659. See *Lettres de Card. Mazarin*, ix. 1906, p. 112.

<sup>b</sup> The Peace of the Pyrenees was signed 7 Nov. 1659 (Dumont, vi. pt. ii. p. 264).

JOSEPH KENT.<sup>a</sup>

1659.

RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup>,

. . . . The Parliament seemes resolute in stricktly muzzleing their young Cubb, whose Councell, meethinks, should not part with the militia soe tamely. If the army bee diuided in ther affections, as your Honour noates, they must certainly come to blowes, which God grant. It canot at all preiudice his Majesty. By some shippes which arriued here 3 dayes since from England and touched by the way at Salli, now 20 dayes agoe, wee haue certaine aduice that Stoakes<sup>b</sup> had beene there 4 dayes before them. Hee reported there that hee would take a turne out of the Streights mouth and returne hither againe, when I shall reniew my acquaintance and practice with his officers, many of whom are my freinds. I will endeauor to make vse of any apprehension of busle or discontent in the Gouverment in England with them, and conuert it (if possible) to his Majesties benifit. . . .

f. 345.

Your Honours most faithfull and obedient seruant,

JOS. KENT.

Liuorne, 7th Aprill, 1659.

"R. GREENE."<sup>c</sup>

(9)

SIR,

March ye last (19 Apr. N.S.), 1659.

If this arrive you (and perhaps before), it will let you see how panick your feares have bin of the Commonwealths men embroyling this nacion and engaging it in new commocions, for malgré

f. 331.

<sup>a</sup> Royalist agent at Leghorn.<sup>b</sup> Capt. John Stoakes, commanding as Rear Admiral the fleet in the Mediteranean. See his report to the Admiralty, 12 April, in *Cal. St. Papers*, p. 330.<sup>c</sup> Probably a pseudonym. The writer is called by Nicholas in the endorsement "Mr. Johnson," but this may also be a pseudonym. Judging from the handwriting he is not identical with W. Warner (below, p. 106), who is also called "Mr. Johnson," nor with W. Greene (below, p. 102), one of the many pseudonyms of "Mr. Miles".

1659.

the very  
wordes of  
the vote.

all their struggling it was carryed<sup>a</sup> by 73 voices that this howse will transact with the persons now sitting in the other howse as an howse of Parliament during this present Parliament and that it is not hereby intended to exclude such Peers as have bin faithful to the Parliament from their priviledge of being duly summoned to the members of that howse. Nevertheles Sir Henry Vane ventured the next day to bring it about agen by endeavoring to mince their vote and that they were to be transacted with onely in a prudentiall not legall manner; for which he was brought to the Barre and escaped very narrowly being sent to the Tower, \*the now Lieutenant wherof will certainly be discharged that office (at least) if these things that are pretended can be made out against him (wherof I make some question), there being a considerable party in Parliament that are desirous to preferre Major general Browne, having by a late vote restored him to a capacity for being alderman and the rest of the priviledges of this citty which the Parliament in 1649 disabled him from, and have besides granted him his whole arreare, which is said to be 9000<sup>li</sup>.

\*this wilbe  
decided when  
ye officers of  
ye army come  
to passe the  
howse, which  
it is said they  
wilbe called  
vpon to doe  
ere long.

Much about this tyme our Commonwealths men began to snarle at Coll<sup>ll</sup>. Jones<sup>b</sup> (his Highnes's Comptroller), accusing him of the receipt of above 100<sup>m</sup>.<sup>li</sup> in Wales for which he hath not accompted; but it may very well be presumed he is injured because of his fidelity to my Lord Protector and being too fine a courtier. Nevertheles his patience was at one tyme so moved by the vnworthy shuffling of our Republicans that he tould the Protector that, if his highnes would hearken to his advice, he would put him into a way that he should never want money nor ever need to call a Parliament; but his highnes very tenderly and prudently (as he doth all things) answered him, that he had

<sup>a</sup> On 28 March, 1659, by 198 votes to 125 (*Commons' Journals*).

<sup>b</sup> Col. Philip Jones, one of Cromwell's peers, Dec. 1657. Charges were brought against him in Parliament 19 May, 1659, and were referred to a committee, but the result is not recorded.

1659.

rather starve then displease the people or disoblige this Parliament. And yet for all the mildnes and sweetnes of this good Prince, we doubt the implacable humor of the Cavaliers wilbe stirring again this spring, else what should soe many of them doe in London, Mr. Secretary Thurlow having assured the Parliament that he hath a list of neare 3000. And though for the present the howse waved the mocion for their banishment 20 miles distant from this citty, yet it will vndoubtedly be put in execucion are long, vnles the consideracion of Sir Wm. Davenant<sup>a</sup> and his opera (which goes vp agen next weeke) prevaile to the contrary. And indeede there wilbe lesse compassion had of them now then ever by reason of Coll<sup>l</sup> Thomas<sup>b</sup> his petitioning the Parliament against Mr. Secretary Thurlow for sending him prisoner to the Barbadoes (where nevertheles it appeares he was treated very much like a gentleman) and now dares not appeare to justify the petition, soe that, if he be retaken, the Lord have mercy on him. But give me leave to tell you withall it is shrewdly suspected the Commonwelths men have had the greatest hand in this device, they neglecting nothing that may asperse any about the Courte. And though they hate the Cavaliers ten tymes more then his highnes or any that relates to him doth, yet you will perceiue they can dissemble a complisance as farre with them as the munkey with the puppeys paw to rake the chesnuts out of the hott embers.

It is generally presumed here that your peace with Spaine was a meer Rodomontado, and though ours with it seeme to sleep at present, yet I am still of opinion that before the end of this Parliament it wilbe concluded.

Sir, I humbly crave your pardon for this transgression contrary

<sup>a</sup> Probably *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru*, 1658, or *The History of Sir Francis Drake*, 1659. Evelyn on 5 May, 1659, "went to see a new opera after the Italian way in recitative, music, and scenes" (*Diary*, ed. Bray, i. p. 331).

<sup>b</sup> On this petition of Rowland Thomas, presented to Parliament 25 March, see *Commons' Journals*, Burton's *Diary*, iv. p. 257 sq., and *Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 446

1659. to my injunctions in troubling you with newes, but I had nothing else to accompany your commands for that most excellent and rare receipt<sup>a</sup> of Sir Kenelme Digbyes, which I have here inclosed sent you. I have thought fitt to disguise in that habit which heretofore was not vnknowne to you, least, if my letter should chance to be opened, it might be transcribed and be made common. I shall not need to conjure you not to communicate it, but I shall humbly beseech you not to be knowne of it to Sr. Kenelme, if it shall ever be your good fortune to meet him abroad or at Paris, whither it is not impossible he may retorne, and then (though I heartily wish my selfe with you at present) I must be strangely involved in busines and have a temper above what I ever was master of to keep from you.

Your most humble and obliged servant,

R. GREENE.

*Endorsed by Nicholas, Vlt. Martii, St. Vet., 1659. R. 22° Apr. St. No. Mr. Johnson.*

- f. 392. *Sir Tho. Peyton<sup>b</sup> was offered to be discharged his imprisonment by the Parliament, yet he was so discreet to cause it to be first told y<sup>e</sup> Protector, who answer'd that the Parliament had power to release him now, but when y<sup>e</sup> Parliament was ended he would clap him up again; so he petition'd the Protector and the Councell and was presently discharg'd. The inference vpon it your honor will finde too obvious. Theis must be well luted and buried in a bed of dung for the space of 14 dayes; then mixe theis ingredients following.*

*When the Bill concerning y<sup>e</sup> Protector shall be brought in, it is to be feared they will insert a clause to exclude the King and his lyne, which, by reason of the dangerous consequence, his*

<sup>a</sup> This pretended recipe is the ciphered enclosure which follows.

<sup>b</sup> Imprisoned in Guernsey Feb. 1657-58 (*Cal. St. Pap.* p. 523), and transferred to Windsor 2 Dec. 1658 (*Cal. St. Pap.* 1658-59, p. 581). He was released on security 10 March (*ib.* p. 302).

*Maiestys friends in y<sup>e</sup> Parliament haue laboured, and will still do what they may with safety, to haue left out. The Commonwealths men may possibly oppose it, not as intending well to the King, for they are vowed rebels, but to crosse the Protector. Then being drawne through an alimbeck mixe your severall waters together, because the first will taste too much of the wine and the last of the ingredients, et bon pour vous face.<sup>a</sup>*

1659.

## SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup>,

. . . . Mr Lockheart with his wife arriued at Dieppe vppon the 6<sup>th</sup> of this month. Hee himselfe came to towne hastily, single and priuate, on Tuesday night, had audience of the Cardinal at Bois de Vincennes Wensday morninge, and since that hath had (I heare) other accessses to his Eminency. His wife and traine are expected here to-morrow; how longe his stay here will bee, or what his negociations are, I yett know not. This present time of deuotion is nott fauourable to that or any other discouery [of] the same nature. . . .

f. 347.

Our late English newes proues quite contrary to what your Honours letter gaue hopes off, for that the admission of the Scotch and Irish to sitt and haue voice in Parlament seemes to manifest the preualency of the Court party (as they call it) ouer the Republican, and by the accession of those voices nott a little to fortifie Crumwell in all future deliberations and debates. I haue seene good letters which say the Parlament committed an error at the beginninge in questioninge some officers of the army, wherby they more united the souldiery under the Pseudo-Protector.

I lately heard a Frenchman who hath spent much timé in Picardy and towards that sea coast affirme that of neere 15 thousand English who haue beene sent to Dunkirke and to serue this Crowne there are nott at present remaininge alieue in all nott

<sup>a</sup> Apparently meant for "bon pour vous passe".

1659. 18 hundred men. And by what I haue obserued and heard from others I doe nott much question the truth theroff. I doe not heare that Col. Rutherford,<sup>a</sup> though highly esteemed for his good seruice, hath as yett, notwithstandinge earnest sollicitation, receiued any recent moneyes. This may bee reckoned amongst the rest of the arguments which make for peace, which God of his goodnesse graunt as instrumentall to the speedy establishment of his Ma<sup>ty</sup> on the Throsne of his Royall Progenitors. With this prayer and my hearty wishes of a merry Easter, I kisse your hands and rest

Your Honours most faithfull and  
most humble seruant,

Q. N.

Paris, this 11<sup>th</sup> Aprill, S<sup>o</sup>. N<sup>o</sup>.

Good Fryday, 1659.

*Endorsed by Nicholas, Sir Ri. Browne.*

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"MR. MILES." <sup>b</sup>

SIR,

f. 348. Your suite<sup>c</sup> in chancery is in a slow, tho, I hope, in a sure motion. Your counsell cannott yet resolue me wheither they

<sup>a</sup> Andrew Rutherford, who rose to be Lieut.-General in the French service; created Baron Rutherford 10 Jan. 1667, and Earl of Teviot 2 Feb. 1668. He was appointed in April, 1663, Governor of Tangier, where he was killed in a sally 4 May, 1664.

<sup>b</sup> The first of seventeen letters written in the same hand under various signatures, but all endorsed by Nicholas, to whom they are addressed, "Mr. Miles" (in one case "Mr. W<sup>m</sup> Miles") or "Mr. Milles". One letter is signed "W. Miles," and this may be the writer's real name, though the "Mr. Miles" of the endorsements may be a pseudonym, as in the case of "Mr. Minden" for E. Massey. The writer several times mentions his "fellow-traveller," which suggests that he was Massey's fellow-traveller, Capt. Titus (above, p. 74). The hand, however, differs from that of the letters of Titus to Hyde under the pseudonym "Tho. Jennings" among the Clarendon Papers at Oxford. The key to the cipher used is in Egerton MS. 2550, f. 24.

<sup>c</sup> The references to a law-suit here and elsewhere may be introduced merely as a blind, or to conceal a political meaning.

may preuaile next terme to haue an order for heareinge; they assure me what euer your aduersary gaines vppon y<sup>e</sup> power of the Courte will be noe preiudice to (*i.e.* at) all to see iust a clayme. If wee can bringe it once to a heareinge and make sure [of] 2 or 3 of the ablest counsell for that Courte, they doubt not your succeſſe, provided your buiseines be prudently and carefully manadged. I shall attend theire directions and advise and giue you a frequent accounte what is donn.

Sir, since the votes of y<sup>e</sup> howse of Commons runn of y<sup>e</sup> Courte side they are allowed to sitt with all quiet as the instruments that can best advance Whitehall designes. On Munday last y<sup>e</sup> question for transactinge with thother Howse was carryed in y<sup>e</sup> affirmative by 70 voyces, as the new commoner<sup>a</sup> Marquis of Argile (appointed for his circumspection one of the Tellers) reported to y<sup>e</sup> Speaker. 'Tis thought that the question barely putt for transactinge would not haue passed soe; therefore, to smother and facillitate y<sup>e</sup> same, 'twas proposed with this limitation "dureinge this sessions only," soe that vppon y<sup>e</sup> matter they will be but Probationers, and secondly with this caution, "that the faithfull old Lords, such worthy Peeres as Salisbury, Pembrock, etc., be not excluded theire right of sittinge in thother Howse". Should the old Lords accept the honor to accompany Goff,<sup>b</sup> Huson, etc., there, 'twould make a fine Courte Hodge-podge, an honorable oleo of State. Sir Henry Vayne and his party are soe much offended att y<sup>e</sup> Courte straine in the Howse of Commons that for his language and passion there he was thother day in danger of the Barr. The free members of y<sup>e</sup> lower howse doe laboure much that a dilemma may be putt to such of the other howse as are officers of y<sup>e</sup> Army or greate pensioners of y<sup>e</sup> Courte, that they be forced to quitte theire pension or y<sup>e</sup> howse. If the question should be putt whether the Army should be reduced and expenses

<sup>a</sup> Argyll sat in the Lower House as member for Aberdeenshire.

<sup>b</sup> Major-Gen. William Goffe and Col. John Hewson were included among Cromwell's peers, Dec. 1657 (Thurloe, vi. p. 668).

1659. abated, shall they be judges and parties too in y<sup>e</sup> howse, as the Scotts and Irishe were in y<sup>e</sup> lower? Particular interests will easily byas them beyond the generall concerne till the lesson of selfe denyall be better practised. There are animosities twixt both howses; some study much to imploy those heates vppon the poore Cauees<sup>a</sup> still, whome they reuile daylie in the howse and would represent as odious as dangerous, tho probably they quarrell and dislike them att present for nothings more then that they are not in some specious plott against such as shall giue them the kinde occasion to squeeze the Cauees more to vnite themselues and affoord them some gelt for y<sup>e</sup> maintenance of the Army. If you heare of any banishinge the Cauees from this citty, its to reconcile themselues att home and to sacrifice them to their owne polittique apprehensions. Many haue of late yeres suffered vnder very illegall and tirranicall exilements, and haply their ouer importunate sollicitations for reparation may incence the greate men concernd against the whole species of them. But 'tis not likely the howse will be engines of seuerity att the Courte pleasure.

S<sup>r</sup> George Ascue with 4 merchant shippes and many sea officers is conveyed to y<sup>e</sup> Kinge of Sweade by Admirall Mountague, whoe sayled away with about 40 sayle of goodlye shippes from neere Yarmouith on Sunday last for y<sup>e</sup> Sownde, where 'tis said he hath instructions to labour a peace twixt the Crowne of Denmarke and Sweadland, and orders to hinder the transportation of the Germane forces into y<sup>e</sup> ayde of Coppenhagen. Hee had noe speciall expresse licence from eyther of the Howses for the expedition into the Sound, but some generall alloweance from the Protector to sett foorth a nauy for y<sup>e</sup> Guard of the Nation and Trade, which, vnlesse votes runn a maddinge after the Courte, will be considered when mony comes to be required from them, specially vpon any contingent lapse or vns[uc]cessfullnes of the

<sup>a</sup> A slang term for the Cavaliers.

1659.

Englishe side. There is nothinge establisht yet, nor can any tell the issues of things. I heare of noe ouerture at all betueene vs and Spaine for an accomodition eyther publique or private. Some 7 or 8 daies since there was a vote passt prohibiteing all Spanishe comodities to be brought into England. Its belieued here the peace betwixt the 2 Catholique Crownes is concluded. There are seuerall prisoners lately released from y<sup>e</sup> Tower, viz<sup>t</sup>. one Mr. Witherington<sup>a</sup> and one or 2 more, and this day Collonell Louelace<sup>b</sup> is sett att liberty. The season will growe as hott as the members, and a moneth hence it may be thought convenient to adiourne y<sup>e</sup> hott Howse till a milder season.

I haue heard nothinge of certaynety since of your Catholique neighbour, tho I haue endeauored to tract his mallicious intentions and am aduised to giue you notice of his plotts and practices to your preiudice. Here is one Phrezer,<sup>c</sup> a Doctor of Phisique, a person of a turbulett spiritt and of an irreconsilable malice to y<sup>e</sup> Scotts Kinge and his interests. He giues his tongue soe much liberty that he is become contemptible, even amongst those att first faouored vppon that score. I cannot heare anythinge of my fellow trauellor. Aboute 3 or 4 weekes since after some difficulty I had a shorte discourse with him and deliuered your commands. He then promised to writte vnto you the next post and withall that he would speake with me agen; but I could neuer since see him.

Your faithfull and most humble servant,

A. GILES.

Good Fryday, 7 att night.

*Addressed, For Mr. Rich. Edwards, etc.; endorsed by Nicholas, 1<sup>st</sup> April, 1659, R. 1<sup>st</sup>, Mr. Miles.*

<sup>a</sup> Francis Witherington, committed 25 May, 1658 (*Cal. St. Pap.* pp. 33, 576).

<sup>b</sup> Not Col. Richard Lovelace, the poet, who died in 1658. If Col. Francis Lovelace is meant, he was again ordered to be committed 5 Aug. 1659 (*Cal. St. Pap.* 1659-60, p. 75).

<sup>c</sup> Probably Dr. Alexander Fraser or Fraizer (vol. i. p. 151, note). He was physician to Charles II. and was knighted soon after the Restoration.

1659.

## PERCY CHURCH.

RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup>,This 11<sup>th</sup> of Aprill, 1659.

f. 350.

. . . . Another freind writes mee that the Irish and Scotts are voted to sitt in Parliament as absolute as other members, where-by 'tis euident that the Protector's partie wilbee much more numerouse then y<sup>e</sup> Commonwealths. Notwithstanding, many are of oppinion that his power wilbee limited and the Generall-shipp seperated, howeuer the army at present lyes quiet as if they were not concerned, though their arrearages are great, which giues noe small admiration. Yesterday was a senight Admirall Mountague was with his fleete of 42 sayle (which carries 2000 mounted gunes wanting 7) at Soale Bay not farre from Yarmouth; his Vice Admirall is one Capt. Goodsten,<sup>a</sup> a Tarpallen, and they promise great action in case y<sup>e</sup> Dutch oppose their designe in y<sup>e</sup> Sound. Wherefore it behooves them to bee surcumspect how they ingage, and yet not to permit y<sup>e</sup> King of Denmarke's ruine, least they hereafter soundly suffer for it with scorn to y<sup>e</sup> Louestein partie, whateare they bee, for I vnderstand them not, though often mentioned in your Honours letters, but shall humbly desire information. Lockhart with his wife and family arrived at Diepe Sunday last, and hee, leaving her behind, came post to this towne Tuesday, giuing notice to y<sup>e</sup> Cardinall of his arrival, whose y<sup>e</sup> next morning sent his coach to carry him to Vincenne, where his Eminence then was. . . .

The Earl of Northumberland's steward with Mr. Macon is newly come ouer about the Lord Percys business, but nothing can be done therein till after the hollidayes, the Lord Jermyn being at Colombe and Mr. Mountague at Pontoise. In the meantime the

<sup>a</sup> William Goodson, who had been vice-admiral in the West Indies under Penn in 1654 and was left in chief command when the latter returned to England in June, 1655, until his own return in April, 1657. He was originally a shipowner of Yarmouth, and the term "tarpaulin" is here applied to him as being a professional seaman.

Kings Aubene<sup>a</sup> and annulling of the will is spoken of, and more 'tis possible your Honour may vnderstand from Mr. Fox, to whome I presume Mr. Mason hath now write. The Lord Jermyn hath newly hired a howse nere y<sup>e</sup> Palais Royal, wherein Mr. Deane Cosens<sup>b</sup> hath set vp his chappell to much better satisfaction of his congregation then his late approbation of Charington,<sup>c</sup> which, as I heare, did not a little dislike y<sup>e</sup> Protestant clergie of England. . . . The Reuerende or rather libertine Irishe Father Tom Talbot came yesterday to this towne from Englande as I heare.

1659.

*Unsigned ; endorsed by Nicholas, Ps. Ch.*

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JOSEPH KENT.

RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup>,

. . . . The enclosed is from Doctor Robert le Grosse, a diuine, who pretends to bee of your Honours antient acquaintance. Hee giues you an account of a handsome action done at sea by Capitaine John Maruin, who being attacked by three Spanish men of warr set to sea by the Marques of Castel Rodrigo, Vice King of Sardenia, tooke the Admirall, comanded by a Hollander, haueing 230 men, 26 piece of Ordnance and 14 Pedreros, hee being himself a merchant man, though in an excellent good shipp, mounted with 32 piece of ordnance and but 60 marriners—which renders the mirackle as glorious to him as shamefull to the enemy, who were in all 500 men. The Capitaine is an honest, stout, truehearted man, and a great honourer of his Mat<sup>y</sup>, vnder whose colours hee assures mee hee made this fight, and desires mee that his Mat<sup>y</sup> may by your Honours meanes know it. And I beseech you at the returne of this letter, when your Honour

f. 353.

<sup>a</sup> The *droit d'aubaine*, by which the property of an alien dying in France was claimed by the crown.

<sup>b</sup> John Cosin, Dean of Peterborough (vol. i. p. 159, note).

Charenton, the headquarters of the French Protestants (*ib.* p. 271).

1659. speakes of this fight name him with kindnes and let him know that his Mat<sup>y</sup> hath an esteeme for him. Hee is a leadeing seaman and now possesseth two good shipps, and wee may reasonably expect some good from him, vpon which scoare hee ought to bee cherished. . . .

Your Honours most faithfull and  
obedient seruant,

JOS. KENT.

Liurorne, y<sup>e</sup> 14 Ap<sup>l</sup> 59.

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DR. ROBERT LE GROSSE.

In Liurorne Road, aboard the  
Recouerie, 1<sup>st</sup> Aprilis, 1659.

SIR,

f. 351.

Premiseing my respectiue thankfullnesse for y<sup>r</sup> many ciuilities and curtesies vouchsafed mee both at London and Oxford (out of that respect you did beare to the memorie of that good man my vncl<sup>e</sup>, Dr. Felton<sup>a</sup> deceased, sometimes Bishop of Elye, and to his sonne in law, Mr. Edward Norgate, your ancient acquaintance), these are to certifie you that after eleuen yeares peregrination into all the 4 parts of the world for the preseruacion of my loyaltie to his Mat<sup>ie</sup> and my conscience inuiolate to myselfe since my banishment out of London by the vsurped tyranicall power of the then setting Parliament at Westminster, in my returne from Grand Cairo to Liurno vpon the Recouerie, Cap<sup>t</sup>. John Maruin (who, though vnknowne, presents his humble seruice to you) beeing commander, wee were the last Mondaye, beeing the 28<sup>th</sup> of March, assalted by 3 Spanish men of warre, the great Alexander beeing Admirall of about 250 tunnes, haueing in her 230 men, 26 gunnes and 16 Pedareers,<sup>b</sup> of which one Cap<sup>t</sup>. Reynold Maurisine of Amsterdam was the Commander, and a Patatch<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Nicholas Felton, Bishop of Bristol, 14 Dec. 1617, and of Ely, 2 Mar. 1618-19, d. 1626. He married the widow of Dr. Robert Norgate, Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Edward Norgate was therefore his step-son.

<sup>b</sup> Sp. pedrero, Fr. pierrier, originally a machine for throwing stones, and later a small cannon revolving on a swivel (Jal, *Glossaire Nautique*, p. 1172).

<sup>c</sup> Patache, a small vessel acting as a tender to a larger man-of-war (ib. p. 1141).

called Sancta Clara, hauing 14 gunnes and 26 Pedareers and 150 men, his Vice Adm<sup>l</sup>, and a Settie<sup>a</sup> of 4 gunnes with 60 men besides Pedareers, who about 10 of the clock in the morning came vp with vs and fired at vs. In which conflict haueing killed about 80 of their men and wounded 50 others, wee took about 50 prisoners, others escapeing in their boat, and brought in the Admirall, the Captaine being wounded with his Lieutenant, to Liurorne with vs, wee haueing lost 2 men onely and one wounded, through Gods speciall prouidence, for which his holy name bee prayed.<sup>b</sup>

The last yeare about Christmas was 12 moneths I arriued heere at Liurorno from Smyrna with a full resolution to come into Flanders, if I might bee any wayes seruiceable to his Matie, who hath my daylie prayers to God for his safetie and happie restitution to his natiue inheritance of England with the territories therevnto belonging. But vnderstanding by Mr. Joseph Kent of the ill successe of affaires in Flanders, I was perswaded to aduenture another voyage to Alexandria, from whence I went up the Riuier Nilus to Cairo, where I spent 3 weekes. And meeting there with Don Philippo, the Prince of Tunis, who was come from Mecca, hee desired to haue passage with vs in our way to Tunis for himselfe, retinue and 50 Hoggees<sup>c</sup> which were come from Mecca, and soe expecting his conueniencie, haueing in the interim viewed and obserued the Pyramides, Joseph's house and granaries<sup>d</sup> as they are still called, Sancta Katharina<sup>e</sup> and the

<sup>a</sup> Sagitta, sagette, a galley with or without oars (*ib.* p. 1306).

<sup>b</sup> This action was also reported to the English Admiralty on the same day by Charles Longland, Agent at Leghorn (*Cal. St. Pap.* p. 323). He says nothing about Marvin being a Royalist. Later (p. 334) he states that the captured ship was commanded by a Hollander, son of Laurence Reyerson of Amsterdam.

<sup>c</sup> Hadjis, or pilgrims to Mecca.

<sup>d</sup> Mandeville's "bernes of Joseph pat ware made for to kepe corne in for pe seven barayne yeres" (Roxburghe Club ed., 1889, p. 27).

<sup>e</sup> The convent of St. Katharine on Mt. Sinai, whither her body was said to have been transported by angels (*ib.* pp. 29, 172).

1659. Matera<sup>a</sup> (where, as is commonly reported, the blessed Virgine Mary lay hid with her blessed babe and husband, when they fled into Egypt to escape the furie of Herodes persecution), with other Antiquities of that place, I accompanied him downe the river Nilus to Rosetta and soe returned by land to Alexandria, where wee took him in with his retinue at Bicaier. And 32 dayes after our departure thence wee landed him safely at his desired port of Tunis. From whence, after 3 weekes stay there, the 9<sup>th</sup> day after our departure on our way to Liurno between the Islands Capraia and Gorgona (haueing been left the day before by 2 Tunis men of warre, who chased vs a day and a night) wee were encountred with the 3 aboue mentioned men of warre; two of which having receiued each of them a broad side from vs were soe satisfied that they would not endure a second brunte, and the 3, beeing the Admirall, haueing lashed her fast vnto vs wee brought with vs into Liurne Road to the great joy of our friends, envie of others, but admiration of all.

Sir, I beseech you, if it may not seeme too greate a presumption, to present my humble seruice to his Mat<sup>ie</sup> and to giue him to vnderstand that, if I may bee any wayes seruiceable, I shall bee readie to serue him in person, as I doe now daylie, beeing absent, with my prayers. And soe craueing leaue for this interruption of you from your greater and more serious affaires with the tender of my due respects, I reste, Sir,

Your much obliged frend to serue you,

ROBERT LE GROSSE.

Sir, I desired Mr. Joseph Kent to present my seruice to you, but feareing that hee might forget it and considering it might bee more acceptable from my selfe than by a proxie I haue aduentured to this height of presumption; and, Sir, if you shall be pleased to honour mee with a line or two enclosed in Mr. Kent's

<sup>a</sup> The mediæval Matarea, now El-Matariyeh, a little N.E. of Cairo, where the tree and well of the Virgin are still shown (*ib.* p. 172).

letter that I may know how to dispose of my selfe, I shall take  
it a speciall fauour. 1659.

*Endorsed, Dr. Roberte le Grosse \* concerning Capt. Jo. Mervin.*

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EDWARD MASSEY.

SIR,

My last vnto you was of the 25<sup>th</sup> past by Mr. *Piles way*, wherein I gaue you an accoumpt of things as then they were with vs, but could not by last post send you an accoumpt of further sales of your comodity by reason *all the last weeke letters, and that before, were both opened*, but hope that *that packet mine went in was safe*, so that, *Mr. Pile being out of towne last post*, I haue wrot you by this way to answeere yours of the 5 present, and as therunto can aduertize you no farther concerning Mr. *Jo. Mordant*, nor can any mistake be in it on my part, who am the only [one] that keepe me fixt in this towne that both Mr. *Pile, Hopton or Sir Hen. Moore* know at all times to find me. And indeede I had beene as little able to giue as little accoumpt in these of Mr. *All[exander] Popham*, had not I earnestly [sought] to haue spoake with him, which upon Saterday last by the help of Sir *Hen. Moore* I did. Who vpon our old acquaintance seemed very glad to see me and after many generall things discoursed of and finding him come not to the marke I tooke him apart and told him I had receaued his Ma<sup>ty</sup> command to waite vpon him, desiring to know of him if he had noe perticular thing to comand me to his Ma<sup>ty</sup>, to whom I was speedily to giue an account of the same. His answer semed very harty and full of zeale for the King, etc., yet came to no perticulars, that at last before we parted I desired to know of him, if that any probable designe should appeare, whether his Ma<sup>ty</sup> might not be assured of his assistance, to which he returned that, if he saw any that his

\* Another letter from him to Nicholas, 1<sup>st</sup> Feb. 1659-60, is said to be from Capt. Robert le Grosse (*Cal. St. Pap.* 1659-60, p. 346).

1659. judgement could see likely, he would imploy all hee was able therein. So we parted. I must not forget to tell you that in oure former discourse with him he tould me that he had lately spoke with Sir William Waller and some other of our friends, who are of opinion that, if the Parliament be not interrupted or the army, they would fall into great disorder quickly and then the game, said he, will play into our hand, which I will likewise hope as a thing not vnlikely. Yet I desire to receiue advice and order from his Ma<sup>ty</sup> in case Cromwells party and the rest of the army should agree and so settle Crumwell, for the Republique party are to weake for them in the House; so, if he should come to be confirmed, how he will be opposed I see not, and I pray God that others his Ma<sup>ty</sup> relieth vpon may shew that zeale he may expect from them. In fine, I finde the account bad enough and that the Presbiter party in general are naught and the best of them to play their game with so much precaution that with Sir William Waller their expectation to haue the worke play to their hand that I can hope little of good by them, I meane they great ones, and wish that Major General Browne proue to answer his Ma<sup>ty</sup>s expectation. For I am very well assured that, if he would do anything, the citty is apt enough to take fire. I haue not [spared] myselfe in any thing, either person or purse, for the advancing his Ma<sup>ty</sup>s seruice, though I runne dayly great hazard, and am very sorry that I haue spent so much tyme in geting in so few debts and that I haue bene here so long and yet nothing done. If I can find no other conjunction of councells or forces then that of Bristoll and Gloucester, as being to weake to stand alone, it will be most needefull for me to haste into Holland and there to shew my selfe and thereby to stop that great search is threatned to finde me and the out (sic), so that I shall doe all that lyes in my power if possible to find out Mr. Mordant and, if things occur, I shall be ready; if not, it will [be] of more advantage to the busines to come over and to hast back then to stay here in danger and do nothing, not so much of myselfe but of his Ma<sup>ty</sup>s

*affaires. [Of our] other friends, Mr. Tytus for better security is gon a little out of towne with some others, fearing a search, but I desire what may be done first. I haue spoke with diuerse cittyzens and ministers well affected and haue endeauored all I am able to free them from those scandalls the Independents had cast vpon his Ma<sup>ty</sup>, but they and all that loue him admire his Ma<sup>ty</sup> is so silent, as if he regarded not his kingdomes nor the assistance of his friends. A Declaration of giuing as much security as may be may do great things among them, but of this Mr. Tytus promiseth by next post to writt more fully. As for what 852 (Lord Chancellor) desired to be informed concerning Mr. Bitt (Buckingham), he may be assured that he cannot hinder payment of Lord Fairfax his payment of duty to the King, for he loues not Mr. Bit (Buckingham) at all, who hath no credit with him. . . .*

1659.

Your humble servant,

TRIST. THOMAS.

London, y<sup>e</sup> 4<sup>th</sup> Aprill, 1659.

Addressed, A Mons. Richard Susanson a Paris; *endorsed by Nicholas*, Mr. Minden by y<sup>e</sup> way of France.

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PERCY CHURCH.

RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup>,

This 18<sup>th</sup> of Aprill, 1659.

After the acknowledging your Honours of the 12<sup>th</sup> present, the inclosed from my friend excepted, I haue only to send your Honour with the list of ships what I received by another letter, which sayes that the howse of Commons since theire firmatiue vote for the Irish [and] S[c]ottish members haue by a second resolved to treat with the other howse during this present Parliament and that such Peers as haue bine faithfull to y<sup>e</sup> Parliament shall haue a due sommons. But this vote (though not satisfactorie to y<sup>e</sup> other howse) was y<sup>e</sup> next day endeuored to bee brought againe into question by Sir Henry Vane, hee saying that they ought

f. 359.

1659. only to bee transacted with in a prudentiall not legall manner, for which hee was called to y<sup>e</sup> Barre and with much difficultie escaped y<sup>e</sup> beeing sent to the Tower. Vpon the 27 of March last, Englishe stille, y<sup>e</sup> Fleete set sayle from Soale Bay, and y<sup>e</sup> same night her Highness forsooth was brought to bed of a girle.<sup>a</sup> Great newes (as to y<sup>e</sup> peace) is here daylie expected by y<sup>e</sup> arriual of a currier from Spaine, which God send, and y<sup>e</sup> Plate fleete to a safe port, the generall report now beeing that about 20 Englishe Fregats meeting them nere y<sup>e</sup> Indian Coast were fought and beaten by the Spaniards. . . .

As for *the D. of Buckingham*, I am apt enough to beleeeue that *he may haue forgot his obligations to the King and Crowne*, notwithstanding his *sisters* endeours to the contrary, for *Dr. Fraisser and he are all one*. As for Mr. Bruncker, hee certainly is noe Roman Catholique, for, as I haue bine assured, hee receiued upon Easter day with Dr. Cosens his congregation, howeuer as a courtier hee possibly may sometimes goe to Mass. . . .

*Unsigned; endorsed Mr. Pe. Ch.*

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“MR. MILES.”

SIR,

App. 8<sup>th</sup>, 59.

f. 360.

I presume next terme will informe vs what tyme wee shall expect a heareing in your tedious suite att Chancery. Nowe the witnesses beinge examined your councell will be able to make some iudgement of itt what is best to bee donn. I shall giue you an accounte of their oppinion and advise. The feoffees haue now vppon the matter declared their resolution as farr (att present) as they are concern'd, beinge inclyned rather to an agreeement (tho vppon hard conditions) then contention.

I haue not seene my fellow-traueller this 4 or 5 weekes; then he told me he was newly come to towne and not settled in a

<sup>a</sup> Anne, sixth daughter of Richard Cromwell. She married Dr. Thomas Gibson and died 7 Dec. 1727 (Noble, *Protectorate House of Cromwell*, 1787, p. 360).

1659.

loadgeinge, but would send me word where to come to him ; withall told me he would writte to you the post followinge and that he intended but a shorte stay in towne, soe that I suppose him eyther in your partes or in y<sup>e</sup> countrey private. The Parliament sitt very close and doe as litle. This weeke was much spent in y<sup>e</sup> howse of Commons aboute a generall day of humilliation for y<sup>e</sup> 3 nations. For that purpose a declaration is agreed on, which yet shall be an Act of Parliament and the first of correspondence twixt the 2 howses ; only by a preuius vote the Commoners haue resolved to meete the members of the other howse as their peeres, not their superiors ; their messuadges and conferences shall be in the same mode and without the ceremony of cap or seate. Sir Oliuer Flemminge<sup>a</sup> neede not trouble himselfe in steereinge the complements and decency of the encounter. The greatest taske will be howe to christen the other howse, for they are neyther Kings, Lords nor Commons, but rather an oleo, an equivocall generation begotten twixt his late Highenes and the dreggs of the Commons, when 115 of the worthier members were excluded the Howse by a forraigne violence. But this nomination of the new members stands comited to 20 godffathers of the howse, and a few daies will acquaint vs with their stile and priviledges.

The officers of the Army, that would be thought the holier parte of the nation and not mercenary men, begin to bussle and make a noyse. The old foe, that grand enemy the Cauee, must be reviled and blowen vpp into a formidable Hobgoblin ; otherwise the feares and ielousies cannott be perpetuated and y<sup>e</sup> Army may chance bee voted, as the Lords once were, dangerous and vnnecessary, and then the highe and mightie major generalls may be seene in *statu quo*, retourne to their first nothings and become to euery clown a foote balle. But to preuent this, they say they prudently vnite, clamore for pay, fright the nation with free quarter, and betake themselues to their imposterous declarations .agen. Whither this spiritt be raised by the Republique or Courte

<sup>a</sup> The Protector's Master of Ceremonies.

1859. party, I cannott discouer. I am apt to belieue they regard to theire owne profitt and indemnity; theire former villanies and insolencies begin to breake out; this hott springe vndoubtedly the thoughts of theire most arbitrary past actings thus inflames.

I heare nothinge of the fleete; 'tis generally said here theire buiseines and orders is to reconcile the Northern Kings, and, if that may not be on certayne termes, then to ayde the Sweade maugre the Dutch and Deane (Dane). It may occasion a vast expence of bloode and treasure to vs here, that are already neere exhausted. The debts of our state did appere isterday in the howse to be neere three millions, besides the chardge of the Navy; and where England hath mynes (*i.e.* means) to supply theis vast somms I belieue noe man vnderstands. They intend to raise gould, euery twenty shillings to 25<sup>s</sup>. The inclosed speech was throwen aboute the Parliament doores, into their coches, and aboute the greate hall on Wensday last. Heareinge itt soe noysd aboute the towne and soe laughed att by the Commons, the Lords of the other Howse caused itt to [be] reade in theire howse isterday. They are yet very scarce, but much lookt after. Sir, att present I shall not add but that I am, Sir,

Your euer faithfull and  
most humble servant,

W. GREENE.

Pray present my humble seruices to all yours. The Armyes declaration Madam Huson hath. Pray call for it.

*Endorsed by Nicholas, Mr. Miles, R. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ .*

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"MR. JOHNSON." <sup>a</sup>

MR. CHARLES SILEDON,

$\frac{1}{2}$  Aprile, 1659.

f. 364.

Sir, I have received yours of the  $\frac{1}{11}$ th of Aprill, and as concerning those 19 Spaniards so long imprisoned in Chelsey

<sup>a</sup>No doubt the same who was recommended to Nicholas as a correspondent by Percy Church 3 Jan. n.s. (*Cal. St. Pap.* p. 228, *cf.* p. 247). He signs with a pseudonym and addresses Nicholas as "Charles Siledon".

Colledge, though by my last I gave you great hopes of their releasment, yet by this I must intreat you to suspend those awhile till we can make them sensible (which we shall doe, if we can make them consider) that it is neither by the law of nacions nor talliacion that they should now (as they doe) put them in chaines and feed them with bread and water onely because they have intelligence that some pirats in Corunna have lately served 4 English men so, which they tooke at sea. I assure you Mr. Blande<sup>a</sup> hath and doth daily take much paines therin, and is farre from being out of hope of procuring their liberty, and after that a peace with Spaine, without which our persons and our trade in generall wilbe ruined, for our first greetinge vpon the Change is commonly, "What ships doe you heare of taken? What merchants or trades-men are failed?" And within theis 3 dayes from 8 it is risen to 16 ships of ours credibly reported to be taken by the Spaniard, some from Newfoundland, one from Porto, and others trading that way. Ten merchants and shop keepers have failed within theis 14 dayes, and one of them, it is said, hath ruined neare 30 families. If wee shall faile in our designe of bringing the Spaniard to make the overture by procuring from the Parliament an order to prohibit the importacion of any Spanish goods into any partes of England, I know not how we shall prevaile with our superiors here to begin the treaty, though they seeme to have as much minde to it as the Spaniards, onely we straine courtosie on both sides; but in conclusion we know that Mahomet must condescend to goe to the mountaine.

If you will give me leave to deale freely with you, I shall presume to tell you I doubt you are a little too fond of the purchase of those tickets vpon the publique faith; and that they will never turne to that account you promise yourselfe. For besides that a million begins to be discovered to have bin paid vpon forged tickets, there is 14 millions appeares to be due vpon reall tickets

<sup>a</sup> John Bland, a London merchant. See on the subject *Cal. St. Pap.* pp. 172, 204, etc.

1659. that are in a readines to be represented to the Parliament, and what way you will finde to get yours thorough this crowd (and at such a tyme when they are so perplexed to satisfy the necessary and clamoring debts of the nacion) is to me a riddle. . . .

*Stoakes<sup>a</sup> seems to be desirous to be called home to cleare himself in some things that Capt. Whetstone (the last Protector's nephew,<sup>b</sup> whom Stokes sent hither a prisoner) hath traduced him in, but as yet no resolution is taken therein by the Admiralty; but so soone as it shall be, I shall have notice thereof sent me by Thom. Turner, Clarke to the Commissioners of the Navy, who your Honour may remember was formerly clerke to Mr. Welles, storekeeper at Deptford, and then clarke to Mr. Fleming, one of the fower principall officers, and not long married my cosen german. If Stokes shalbe continued, then your Honor may take notice, which perhaps you know better, that James Wilson (a Cadis marchand, who is with him in the same ship and the far more ingenious man) is in a manner his Governor and rules him as he list. But it is beleaved he will returne, and that either Capt. Smith (now in the Rainbow, if I mistake not the ship) or Whitehorne shall have that command and be sent with fresh ships that are now upon our seas instead of those there. Whitehorne is a zealous villain, but Smith is an ingenious, active, moderate man. Adm. Montague, it is thought, will shortly be here and leaue Goodson in chief at the Sound, and no more ships are to be set out this season then what are there, being between 120 and 130 saile already abroad and not five pound in the Tresory of the Navy.*

*It is beleued the last Petition of the Army (which I sent Percy Church for you) is but a preface to the dissolving of the Parliament (which the Commonwealths men so endeavour, which*

<sup>a</sup> Captain John Stoakes. There is a good deal about his differences with Captain Thomas Whitstone of the "Fairfax" in *Cal. St. Pap.* p. 104, etc.

<sup>b</sup> He was second son of Roger Whitstone of Whittlesea, co. Hunt., who married Cromwell's sister Catherine (Noble, *House of Cromwell*, 1787, ii. p. 207).

*will or will not be put in execution according as they shall raise y<sup>e</sup> Protector money.*

1659.

*I pray advise me whither you have received the letters I sent by one M<sup>r</sup>. Harper, for I paid him well for it, and a friend of mine and his undertoke for him.*

*Some of the Kings friends that were of my familiar acquaintance have of late kept a distance with me, either displeased with my trust or not beleiving it. If the former, it may in time be extended to my mischief; if the later only, it will depend no longer then Lord Chancellor suspends his answer to that gentlemans letter, wherein, as I offered in my last, I shall wholly referr my self to his Lordship and your honour.*

*Sir, in obedience to your commands I have ventured this by the post of Flanders, but I shall humbly beg to be excused for the future, the marchands assuring me that their letters, as well to as from thence, are frequently opened and examined and anything in cipher will so disturbe Thurlow that, though he decypher it not, he will not be quiet till he have traced it to the person. Yet at any time in any particular the speedy advise whereof may essentially concerne his Ma<sup>ty</sup> proceedings I shall be ready to stake my liberty and life.*

*The result of the Armys fast is to assert the Government in a Protector and two howses of Parliament, to stand to and defend all those that acted in the Kings death, and to exclude his Ma<sup>ty</sup> line. It was urged and debated to exclude all and admit no officers in the army that would not declare themselves accessorys to the Kings death, and the like was propounded by them for the Parliament, but the former haveing many officers ex post facto and the later beyond there bounds, they thought fitt not to rub an old sore too hardly. Upon the whole matter they finde they cannot subsist without the Protector nor y<sup>e</sup> Protector without them, nor will they displease the people in their Idoll Parliament untill the Parliament deny their arreares and to keep them in pay.*

*To divert you after all this, you may expect some comfortable*

1659. newes, and I hope in generall it wilbe esteemed some by you that, against the hopes of all our enemies and the contrivances of our Commonwealth men, we yet (blessed be God) goe on fairely towards a settlement, His Highnesses prudence manifesting it selfe something beyond his fathers, as in his temper so in the good vnderstanding he preserves between his Parliament and his Army. The Parliament is now busy about a course for their arreares and to satisfy the debts of the nation, which (since I began my letter, and setting the publike faith aside) I am told will not prove so great as was reported, nor the difficulty to pay them. The Army held a fast vpon Wednesday the 13<sup>th</sup> and strange fancies are raised and spread vpon it, as particularly that they will have a new generall and no monarchicall government and many such like demands tending to division; but you may beleve (for I have some reason to doe so) they are not so vnreasonable. At least you may suspend till they declare themselves, which within a few days they intend to doe in printe.

Yesterday Mr. Chute, our ould Speaker, dyed, and this day Mr. Bampfild is confirmed in his place, a worthy person and generally esteemed.

This little roome that is left me I pray let me make vse of to intreat you once more to be thoroughly advised before you parte with your money for those Tickets; for, though they shalbe allowed of, you will not finde it come in so easily as it goes out. I speake not to you onely as a freind but as

Your most faithfull servant,

W<sup>m</sup>. WARNER.

*Endorsed by Nicholas, 1<sup>st</sup> Apr. 1659. R. 3<sup>rd</sup>. Mr. Johnson by y<sup>e</sup> way of Antwerp.*

SIR ALEXANDER HUME.

SIR,

Hage, 1<sup>st</sup> Apr., 1659.

f. 366.

. . . . Wee haue yet no niewes of the arriuall of the English fleet in the Zound. The winde hath been for the most part con-

trary since they went out, and there is a report that they should be driuen back and much shattered with tempest. Our fleet here is not yet ready to sett out, nor will not be in a fortnight or three weeks. Their slownesse in all appearance is caused by their expectation of an agreement between the Northern Kings, which is still in treaty here between the States and the English and French ministers, which most men beleue will take effect, though I confesse I am one of those who ar doutefull of it, as I am of the French peace. The English Commissioners that were sent to demand reparation for the wrongs done the English by the Dutch in the Indies ar sayd to be returned with full satisfaction, hauing obtayned to the uery uttermost of all they could pretend. The French ambassadour, who was, as you heard, unsatisfyed with our Princesse before her going to Breda, and in a long time had forborne to uisite her hath now since her returne beene with her and used her with great ciuility; but what reale kindenesse shee may expect from that Court in her affaires of Orange is more then I know.

The Queen of Bohemia expecteth shortly a uisite from her doughter Princesse Sophia, who wes maryed to the Duke of Luneburg. From Heydelberg wee hear of strange disorders in that family, the Elector hauing sent away his lady to her brother the Landgraue of Hesse and brought in his concubine<sup>a</sup> to the Court, whom he ownes and commandes all his subjects to acknowledge and respect as his wife. Wee ar in dayly expectation to see here Monsieur Heenvliet and his lady,<sup>b</sup> whom wee beleue before this time to be imbarked. . . .

Your most affectionat humble seruant,

A. HUME.

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<sup>a</sup> Maria Louisa von Degenfeld, whom he married morganatically in 1657.

<sup>b</sup> See vol. i. p. 203, note.

1659.

PERCY CHURCH.

f. 367.

RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup>,This 25<sup>th</sup> of Aprill, 1659.

What Lockhart doeth in order to y<sup>e</sup> renewing of the alliance with this kingdome I heare not, but am assured that vpon Sunday morning last by six of the clock hee was priuately with the Cardinall for aboue an hower, notwithstanding (as I am told) hee publickely sayes that the Englishe desier not to bee included in y<sup>e</sup> peace, which is now the only great discourse, a currier arriuing Munday last from Spaine bringing the newes that most of the articles were assented vnto, and that they doubted not but within few dayes to dispatch another with the full signed conclusion. Neuertheless a generall rendezuous for y<sup>e</sup> officers of y<sup>e</sup> army hath newly bine appointed to bee kept the 8 of the next moneth at Amiens.

My letter from St. Sebastians 12 current sayes that the generall and officers of the plate fleete discovering some English Fregatts nere there West Indie coast they discharged there gallions of the plate they had aboard and fitted them selues to fight the Englishe, who not standing y<sup>e</sup> gallions returned to take aboard there plate, and this (as report sayes) my friend writes hath bine the occasion of there not arriuall . . .

As for *Father Talbot*<sup>a</sup> *the Jesuit*, I have remembred him according to your Honours directions, and, if hee can bee heard of in England, I doubt not but to giue your Honour a good account of him very shortly. Sir Kelham Digby is vpon his returne from Francfort and Mr. White is gone thence from Holland. Sir Robert Murrey,<sup>b</sup> a great Scotch Presbyterian, is newly come to towne. Pray doeth *the Princesse Royale come this summer for France, as 'tis here whispered?* . . . I had this euening a letter from my freind with only the inclosed print; his that accompanies it came to my hand Twesday last. The Parliament is now

<sup>a</sup> Peter Talbot, made Archbishop of Dublin in 1668.

<sup>b</sup> See vol. ii. p. 21, note.

in hand to provide three moneths pay for theire present supply out of the monethly assessments and excise vntill they shall find a better way to satisfy theire whole arreares and the other debts of the nation, amounting to three millions and a haulfe at ye least. . . .

1659.

*Unsigned; endorsed, Pe. Ch.*

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SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup>,

. . . . Mr. Lockheart was at six of the clocke in the morninge Sunday last conveyed by Mon<sup>r</sup>. du Bosc to an audience with Mon<sup>r</sup>. le Cardinal. What his negociations are is not yett discovered to mee, eyther by words or by the effects. Some that frequent his house affirme that hee receiues very little satisfaction in many marchants businesses which hee sollicit, and most are of opinion that Ingland is nott concluded in the Treaty. And a talke there is that there shall bee a place assigned for the meetinge of Deputies to adjust the interests of the allies, viz. Ingland, Suede and Portugal. I am also told that Mr. Lockeheart returnes within a short time to Dunkirke, butt that his wife intends to passe hir summer here. Three dayes since here came letters from Madrid and St. Sebastians which mentioned the arriuell of one gallion at St. Lucars worth two millions, and that they expected the rest of the Plate fleete within fewe dayes. Yesternight I was told that other letters since haue brought newes of the safe arriuell of the wholle fleete (86 vessells in all). I pray God these good tidinges produce not a bad consequence, the retardment of the peace, which by puttinge the whole frame of the affaires of Christendome into an other posture cannott butt proue aduantageous to his Ma<sup>ty</sup> and open some speedy way for his happy establishment. I should perhaps bee able to giue your Honour some better certainties, as well concerninge the Peace as also of the arriuell of the fleete, did not this grand Holy

f. 368.

1659. day deny me the opportunity of meetinge with my best intelligencers. . . .

Your Honours most faithfull and  
most humble seruant,  
Q. N.

Paris, this 25<sup>th</sup> April, 1659.  
*Endorsed*, Sir Ri. Browne.

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MARQUIS OF NEWCASTLE.

NOBLE SIR,

1. 370.

I receued yours of the 30<sup>th</sup> last and giue you manye thanks for the fauor off your moste exselente newse. I am shure wee cannott bee worse then wee weare, and I hope in God thatt this peace maye proue considerable for the aduantage off our gratius Kinge. Butt your son writt to Mr. Topp thatt the lower house was deuided and that the two houses coule not agree and that itt was thoughte theye woulde bee dissolued. This maye bee considerable indeed. Wee haue itt heer by some letters thatt the arme ye standes vppon termes of their owne; thatt is considerable and to the purpose, iff itt bee so. Butt wee haue so manye lies heer att Antwerpe thatt wee knowe nott whatt to beleue, for this morninge the Lord Wentworth and Sir Cissill Howarde came to mee and tolde mee thatt Maior Wood tolde them thatt one off the Prince off Condies followers tolde him thatt Sir Ro. Welsh, his son, and 3 or 4 more had a plott to kill my gratius master and theye had no sooner sayde itt butt I receaued your letter dated yesterdaye, so then theye sawe ther was no such thinge. God euer preserue my gratius master from all knaues, fooles and bludye rascalls. My seruice to your younger son, with manye thanks for his fauors to mee aboute Mounsieur Hiane; though hee hath nott answerde itt, I doe nott care so that nowe hee knowes my minde, which is sufficiente. Itt was aboute a truck for horses, and I woulde bee loth to giue

a good horse for a jade and, though ther is none thatt is a peece off a horse-man amongst them, riders or others, yett I assure you the greateste of them are horse-coursers<sup>a</sup> beyonde anye in Smithfeilde, and so theye are in France, for itt is two professions, a good horse-man and a horse-courser. I pretende to the firste, butt knowe nothinge of the seconde, for Ile cosen no bodye. I onely take care nott to be cosende, which theye finde I can doe resonable well att thatt. Beleue mee itt is nott an easeye thinge to haue a good horse, nor a rare man in anye qualettye.

1659.

Antwerpe, Maye daye, 1659.

*Unsigned ; endorsed, Lo. Ma. Newcastle.*

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SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup>,

. . . . As for Ingland, the generall voice is that they refuse to bee comprised and that the Pseudo-Protector in Ingland to the French Ambassador, as Mr. Lockart here, hath sayd that they will nott haue others treate their interest as yf they were some petty state, butt will make Spaine come and seeke peace at London. I am told that the Alliance betweene France and Ingland is at present butt from campagne to campagne, and that one article of the last was that Dunkerque should bee restored to France when demanded, France repayinge the charges disbursed by Ingland in takinge theroff, which they calculated at 500<sup>m</sup> crownes. This summe France now offers, viz. 300<sup>m</sup> for the State, and 200<sup>m</sup> for Mr. Lockheart to reimburse him his moneys expended uppon the garrison and to satisfie some other pretences of his. Butt all is refused and discourers will haue it that Ingland, Suede and Portugall will make a League for carryinge on the warre. Meanetime I can assure your Honour that here is much

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<sup>a</sup> Horse-corser or courser, a jobbing dealer in horses (*New Engl. Dict.*, with 1552 as the earliest reference). Newcastle's *La methode et invention nouvelle de dresser les chevaux* was published at Antwerp, 1657, fol.

1659. negociation with Mr. Lockheart. Mon<sup>r</sup>. de Lione<sup>a</sup> hath beene with him sometimes twice in one day in longe conferences, and Mon<sup>r</sup>. du Bosc hath beene seene to carry to him greate packetts from Court. It would nott displease your Honour to bee here an eare witnesse of the common discourse almost in euery man's mouth that now the Peace is made France will infallibly vnder-take the Kinge of Inglands establishment, affirminge his Maties marriage with Madamoiselle<sup>b</sup> (or, as some will haue it, with a niepce of the Cardinall) is all resolved. By which you may see the good inclinations of this people, of which I hope the great ones also may in time haue some tincture. . . .

Q. N.

Paris, this 2<sup>d</sup> May, 1659.*Endorsed by Nicholas, Sir R. Browne.*


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 PERCY CHURCH.
RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup>,This 2<sup>d</sup> of May, 1659.

- f. 373. As *Father Tom Talbot<sup>c</sup>* is often at our Court soe [is] *Sir [Robert] Murrey* and very busy, but to what effect I cannot learne or haue I euer spoke with either. Our newes here of y<sup>e</sup> Dutch fleete is that they will rather desist then goe for y<sup>e</sup> Sound, as apprehending an ingagement against y<sup>e</sup> Englishe, for which may they hereafter suffer and againe become vassalls insteede of high and mightie states. The soe much desired peace is since Satterday last (that the King sent directions to y<sup>e</sup> Grand Vicar to order through all y<sup>e</sup> churches in Paris an exposall of y<sup>e</sup> Blessed Sacrement for three dayes with prayers for y<sup>e</sup> hopefull success thereof) most generally thought concluded, though not yet deuulged, and y<sup>e</sup> rather because his Mat<sup>y</sup> went vpon Satterday to our Ladyes Church, where with great solemnitie hee receaved and had prayers

<sup>a</sup> Hugues de Lionne, Marquis de Berny, French foreign minister.<sup>b</sup> Anne Marie Louise, daughter of Gaston, Duke of Orleans, born in 1627.<sup>c</sup> An Augustinian friar, younger brother of Peter Talbot the Jesuit.

for y<sup>e</sup> prosperitie of that now reall treatie ; and yet notwithstanding of this good begining some are soe malicious as to say that all is but to deceaue the people by an Italian trick. *It hath bene here privatly sayd that Mr. Henry Jermin was comanded from your Court by the King. Pray, if so, what was the cause?* My letter of the 19 Aprill from St. Sebastians sayes that this morning here arriued an Express Currier from y<sup>e</sup> Admirall (to our Gouernment) of y<sup>e</sup> Plate Fleete then at St. Ander in Galicia with 26 Gallions which were separated from 18 others by ill weather about 30 leagues of y<sup>e</sup> coast, but thought by that time to be in safety, as certainly two were at Cadix, which was good luck, for Stokes with a squadron of 15 fregats, that are now a making cleane at Toulon, had two or three dayes before bine there attending for them. These good newses will, I hope, not only make all our freinds to rejoyce but y<sup>e</sup> Dons speedely to supply his Matys wants, which I most hartely pray may be in a plentifull manner. Fa. Talbot y<sup>e</sup> Jesuit, as since my last I haue bine assured, tooke this way for England and was some dayes most priuate in secular habit. Lockhart vpon Tuesday night last had an express from England, and y<sup>e</sup> next morning by six hee was met in a priuat Sedan attended with 3 or 4 seruants and a Swiss officer going to y<sup>e</sup> Court. What it imported time must tell, for hee negotiates with great secresie. . . .

I haue this weeke had noe letter from England nor much from my freind Mr. Booth, saue only that Mr. Chute is dead and Banfeild, a lawyer of Exeter, confirmed Speaker of y<sup>e</sup> Parliament, and that report at London since arriual of y<sup>e</sup> Danishe Ambassador was very hott as if the Fleete had bine sent for back from y<sup>e</sup> Sound. There is an excellent printed speech of fower sheets lately come forth and pretended to haue bine spoken in y<sup>e</sup> Howse of Commons. If your Honour hath not seene it, I shall vpon aduise remitt it by y<sup>e</sup> first. . . .

*Unsigned ; endorsed by Nicholas, Mr. Pe. Ch.*

1659.

EDWARD MASSEY.

SIR,

f. 374.

I haue seene yours to Mr. *Hopton*, which seemes to make enquiry as if you had not receiued satisfaction from *me about Gloster and Bristoll busines*.<sup>a</sup> Ther hath [been].noe *post* either by way of *Antwerp or France*. Vpon Monday was 14 dayes I writ by way of *Paris*, as you directed, and vpon Thursday last by way of *Rouen to be sent to Mr. Shaw at Antwerp*, as Lo. Chancellor commanded me, and lastly I writ to Lo. Chancellor by ship to *Rotterdam, sent yesterday*, of all particulers I could remember, haueing in all my former giuen as perfect an account of things concerning our trade and sales of goods made as possibly I could. And if I write not so methodically as may be expected, I hope you will pardon it, for I cannot sett myselfe to writeing with that stillnesse as others perhaps may, my thoughts being otherwayes employed and myselfe necessarily otherwise busied. For I see playnely that *his Ma<sup>ties</sup> busines must no longer be carried on in a compliment and smooth writing, great promises and no action*; that, if I should not, as I haue done, lett him know y<sup>e</sup> naked truth, I should not performe that trust like an honest man he hath giuen me, and [I] hope that he hath had all those things truly communicated to him. If *his Ma<sup>ty</sup> be betrayed*, it shall neuer be either by my consent or connyvance, God willinge, and therfore I must be playne with you in these, that you may by shewing *the King what I write* [contrive that] I may haue his commands or *Lord Chancelors what way hereafter Titus and Massey must proceed*. First, I haue giuen all the assurance I can that I was very well satisfied concerning what was offerred about *Bristoll and Gloucester busines*, and vpon that ground haue endeauored to sett forward y<sup>e</sup> rest all I could in order therunto. *Mr. Hopton and Pile* haue not beene wanting on their parts, and wee doubt not but wee shall finde a good

See Hyde's letter to Mordaunt, 11 April, in *Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 454.

*foundation there and such an one as might begin the worke, if the great men here of the Sealed Knot<sup>a</sup> or the Councell Entrusted, as they call themselves, had either the resolution to act themselves or giue others leaue so to doe that perhaps are better resolved. Not at all that I either doe or haue desired to precipitate the businese by any rash action, but so to dispose things for an occasion that, when the occasion shalbe offered, wee may be ready to act, not then begin to debate the matter. But to this day we haue had no cleare dealeing with any his Ma<sup>y</sup> sends us unto but those named and Sir Henry Moore, who helped me to the speech with Mr. Popham, who I belieue would yet do well [if] some persons would permit him; for although I haue expressly told Mr. Mordant that his Ma<sup>y</sup> writ that he doubted not but that I had spoake with Major Generall Browne, Sir W<sup>m</sup>. Waller and Mr. How,<sup>b</sup> with whom to this day Massey or Titus haue not spoken, or can they obtayne it, he told me he thought that Browne had spoke with me, and y<sup>e</sup> last tyme I saw him (which hath beene but twice and that with noe little adoe on my part) tould mee that Sir W<sup>m</sup>. Waller tould him he refused not to speake with me, but hee being in the cuntry nether time or place would be assigned unto me that I might speake with him, nor can I yet come to speake with Ma. General Browne, though I haue endeavoured all I can. But as to Mr. How, Mr. Mordant seemed not desirous to vnderstand that, but tould me that he reserved him (as I take his words or to that purpose) peculiarly to himselfe, and it seemes so; for, though I spoake playne enough, yet I can heare nothing from him, insomuch that I feare I may too justly suspect that Mr. Mordants best game and ground for*

<sup>a</sup> The secret Royalist Committee so called which managed the abortive rising of 1655, and was still active (Gardiner, *Commonwealth and Protectorate*, ii. p. 427; Firth, *Last Years of Protectorate*, i. p. 27).

<sup>b</sup> John Grubham Howe, M.P. for Gloucestershire. "No man is so powerful in Gloucestershire as Mr. Howe nor so well monied, and when affairs grow riper, he assures me he can surprise and secure Gloucester" (Mordaunt to Hyde, 8 March, 1658-59, *Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 433).

1659.

*his great service to the King* is his presuming upon Mr. *Hows* interest in Gloucestershire, where he himselfe hath little or no interest himself, but Mr. *Hows* interest is in the accompt of *Gloster giuen in to me as of my number*, so I feare that I shall finde in the end one and the same summe brought twice to accompt in others as well as this.

I haue endeauored to giue all assurance that, if Mr. *Mordant* or any shall vndertake the debt, I shall most gladly by my masters comand quitt the pursuance of it and that I shalbe as ready to follow *any person his Ma<sup>ty</sup> shall thinke meete* (so bee they would but resolute) *with a musquet upon my shoulder*, so far was I from contesting any thing that was not the express command of my master and concerning which I was obliged to render a just accompt that I would be subseruiant to all things without dispute that might but tend to his service and the faithful discharge of my trust, but *over much delay* is not only likely to render vs *vselesse to the service and our liues to apparent danger, but also his Ma<sup>ties</sup> busines hopelesse*. For as I am now writeing these lines I am assured that *the Army and Militia of this city will joyne to ruine the Parliament*, so heres one occasion lost that a better could not haue beene expected and *Browne with his modestie denying to speak with us* proue himselfe in the end perhaps a foole as well as some others of that sorte. But *my hart is too full* that I cannot write a word at present more and only begg of the Lord, if he see it meete, that if I may not be so happy as to liue to see *my King and soveraigne restored*, that I may but finde *an honourable graue in the happie attempting of it*.

April 20<sup>th</sup>. Postscriptum. This present Fryday we heare that ther is a greate deuision of y<sup>e</sup> army, and that the greater party is for y<sup>e</sup> Comonwealth, y<sup>e</sup> lesser for the Protector, and they threaten to dissolue the Parliament and to put an end to this government of y<sup>e</sup> Protector, so that our tradeing is likely to be at a stand for a tyme, for *I see nothing to be don by such as his Ma<sup>ty</sup>*

*hath commissioned. I am now at Mr. Mordants place appointed to meete with him, but he not yet come, he haueing beene out of towne some 4 or 5 dayes, and feare, if I may see him, he can giue me but a slender accoumpt of what the King doubtlesse doth expect from him. I heare that Mr. How is come to towne, to speake with whom I shal vse all y<sup>e</sup> meanes I can, and wish from my heart both myself and such as truly resolve to hazard their liues for his Majestie might not be so bound vp as they are, who to this day know nothing of that they otherwise might and would haue knowne, I doubt not to better advantage. And this day I haue had in particuler that the Independents intend to send a letter of desire to the King for their indemnity, etc., although such as haue his Ma<sup>ty</sup>s commission thereunto are perhaps either knowne vnto them or by them, nor is it made knowne to vs if any suche thing be in their power or noe; so that necessarily Mr. Kasset (the King) must take another course, if he intend to do good by this trade, which growes lowe by this kind of manadgment and much dishartens all our customers. And this I may confidently averr, that had not we been so tyed vp to waite vpon others, we could haue giuen our friends about Bristol and Gloster a better incouragement and raysed this citty to a higher pitch of resolution.*

I haue this instant spoke with Mr. Mordant, but am no further instructed then I was formerly by him. He tells me he had wrote to his Ma<sup>ty</sup> to giue him an accoumpt of his debtors that they are backward in payment, so that *this opportunity given at present is wholly lost.* Hee seemes willing to pay this debt, but I feare the rest of your debtors are not willinge to joyn so freely with him, for either there is nothing to be done or he knows not of it. All that wee haue this instant for newes of y<sup>e</sup> Army we heare that they haue dissolued the other House and that y<sup>e</sup> House of Comons haue adjourned till Monday or not to meete more. The Army were devided, but it is now said that the Protector and they are agreed; so we hope things will settle in

1659. quiet and y<sup>e</sup> Republique party likely to carry it. You must pardon mee that I can giue you no better an account of things at present. Doubtless ther wilbe a greate *and generall search here*. God grant *we may escape them*. Sir,

Your humble servant,

866 (MASSEY).

London, 22<sup>th</sup> April, 1659.

*Endorsed by Nicholas, Mr. Minden by lad[y] Ab[bess].*

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SIR ALEXANDER HUME.

SIR,

Hage, 6 May, 1659, St. No.

f. 380.

. . . I hope before this time you haue receiued one of mine of the 29 of the last, whereby I told you what wee heard of the English fleets arriuall at the Zound, and of the maner of their cariage there, which hithertoe wee doe not hear to haue been any other then they professed at first. There wes once a report (but it is not confirmed and so not beleeued here) that the castle of Cronenburg was deliuered into their handes. Whether that may come to passe or not hereafter I doe not know, but as yet wee doe not hear of anything done by them to the prejudice of the King of Danemark, but on the contrary that, being desired by the King of Sweden to fall down before Coppenhagen and blocke it up by sea, they haue absolutely refused it. It is beleeued here that Montague will endeauour to make an agreement between those two kings, and possibly upon such conditions as the States of these prouinces will not like; for which purpose it is conceiued the French and English ministers haue so long protracted the treaty that hath been in agitation here. In my last I gaue you notice of the French ambassadours refusing to signe the treaty untill the king his maister were acquainted, whereupon Downing made the like delay. But the last French post brought a power to the French ambassadour to signe it, and, as I am informed, Mr. Downing hath on Sonday last at night by an expresse receiued the like commission from his maister, both

which it is not improbable they may haue had by them before, but concealed the hauing of them till now that they finde the States begin to resent the delusion and are resolved not only forthwith to send out their fleet and land souldiers designed for the Zound, but with all very speedely to sett out 40 great ships more to be employed either thither or elsewhere, as they shall see cause, for securing of their trade, which wee hear is molested and diuerse of their merchantmen taken by English ships with commissions from the King of Sweden and the King of Portugall. For reparation and preuention whereof in time coming the States ar preparing all the strength they can, and haue prohibited all ships to goe out untill they be furnished with such number of saylers as shall be requisite for the publick seruice of the State ; which hath caused the merchants of Amsterdam to make offer to the States (upon condition that permission may be giuen to send out their fleet to the Grenland fishing) to furnish them immediately with 12 hundreth saylors for the seruice of the State, so as it is beleueed they will very suddenly haue all their ships in readinesse, for aduancing whereof the States of Holland ar now comed together in an extraordinary meeting. Whether this may incline the French ambassadour and Downing to come to a speedy conclusion of the treaty, or if they will yet finde new subterfuges, a little time will enforme us.

*For that which you haue heard of y<sup>e</sup> Princesse Royalls going to Paris, much hath bene talked of it, but Sir All. Hume beleeues without ground.* Of our court I can write you no niew thing, but the returne of Monsieur Heenvliet and his lady.<sup>a</sup> Wee haue expected M<sup>rs</sup>. Culpeper or M<sup>rs</sup>. Price, or my lady Starismore,<sup>b</sup> or all of them to come along with them, but none

<sup>a</sup> See vol. i. p. 203, note b. Lady Stanhope married Heer van Heenyliet in 1641, and their son and heir, Charles Henry van Kirckhoven, was created Lord Wotton of Wotton 31 Aug. 1650, and Earl of Bellomont in Ireland 9 Dec. 1680. The earlier title is here said to have been granted by Charles I.

<sup>b</sup> Probably widow of Sir Robert Staesmore, killed in a duel in 1653 (vol. ii. p. 15).

1659. of them is come. M<sup>rs</sup>. Culpeper, they say, was hindered by an ague, and of the other two I hear nothing. They haue brought ouer with them M<sup>rs</sup>. Stanhop, that was mayde of honour to the Princesse (which by the way is thought strange by some, that hauing quitted her Highnesses seruice shee should haue comed againe to this countrie), and their sone and doughter that were in France. The sone, as I hear, goeth now by the name of the Lord Wotton, which honour I am told they haue gotte confirmed upon him by the Protector, because the late King's grant being out of date after his going from London wes subject to question. The father and the sone haue been also made denizens by the Protector, and expect the sone to be naturalised by the Parliament now sitting. This being all I haue at present to entertayne you with, I shall adde no more but remaine euer,

Sir, your most affectionat humble seruant,

A. H.

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PERCY CHURCH.

f. 381.

RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup>,

This 9<sup>th</sup> of May, 1659.

. . . . If *father Peter Talbot* bee soe busy in England as your Honour mentions, the next weekes letters will, I hope, giue mee occation to say something of him, howeuer I cannot of *his brother the frier*, saue only that, as I heare, *his discourses are sutable to his libertyne lief* and that shortly hee wilbee amongst you. For *Sir Rob. Murrey*, he is dayly with *Lo. Jermyn*, but vpon what score I cannot imagin, vnless *the Presbyterian*, wherein 'tis beleued hee is not idle. . . . Its possible the *Dutchess of Richmond*<sup>a</sup> may intend for England, though kept priuate, for *her Grace lately sent a servant ouer*. Here is a speech as if *Douning* vpon refusing to signe y<sup>e</sup> Articles with the States about y<sup>e</sup> two northerne Kings was stolen for England, which I beleue not in

<sup>a</sup> Katherine, widow of James Stuart, Duke of Richmond, who died in 1655.

reguard the letter I iust now received from my freind of Aprill the 21<sup>th</sup> makes noe mention of it, or other then that the Commonwealthes men are still troublesome, they hauing bin tampering agen with y<sup>e</sup> army and citty, and had resolved to haue chosen Fleetwood for their generall, and some of y<sup>e</sup> trayned bands would haue joyned with them to haue closed with the Commonwealthes men. But y<sup>e</sup> Protector hath for y<sup>e</sup> present preuented [and] suppress it and their meetings, by ordering them to their seuerall regiments and quarters as y<sup>e</sup> howse of Comons hath, and it was then in y<sup>e</sup> other howse to bee passed, and a Bill was preparing for banishing of the Causaliers.

1659.

At this instant a freind shewes mee a letter of Aprill y<sup>e</sup> 25<sup>th</sup>, which sayes that the armie haue chosen Fleetwood Generall, Dewesbrough Liuet. Generall, and comming to London haue dissolved y<sup>e</sup> Parliament<sup>a</sup> and forced Cromwell to assent vnto their desires, whereof I presume Tuesday next will bring vs the certainty from our freind, together with all particulars. The plate fleetes arriuall is confirmed to mee by a letter of Aprill y<sup>e</sup> 26 and valued at nere 5 millions in siluer to y<sup>e</sup> King besides jewells and his dues out of all y<sup>e</sup> rest. The peace is now noe more doubted by any and y<sup>e</sup> rather for that orders Munday last were sent to all officers vpon y<sup>e</sup> frontiers of Flanders for a cesation of armes till further directions. This dissolution of y<sup>e</sup> Parliament will without question please y<sup>e</sup> Hollanders, and possibly giue them corage to vndertake the K. of Denmarks quarrell more seriously then yet they haue dune, as hoping that the Englishe may now not want employment to busie themselves without making warre against y<sup>e</sup> States as resolved. . . .

*Unsigned ; endorsed by Nicholas, Pe. Ch.*

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<sup>a</sup> Dissolved 22 April. The Long Parliament, forcibly dissolved by Cromwell 20 April, 1653, was recalled, with Lenthall as Speaker, 7 May.

1659.

"MR. MILES."

SIR,

29 App. 59.

f. 382.

Our Excellent Reformers the officers of the army pull downe the old howse before they had contriued any new to succcede. It doth much distract them to settle vpon a ciuill Gouverment that shall be a countenance, and properly, to y<sup>e</sup> army. The Nation will not like to be gouerned by their stipendiaries; some shadow of a ciuill power there must bee; Courte and Parliament haue bin the late reproach. An Aristocracy of new plyant gentlemen together with some of the chiefe officers will putt faire for itt, vnlesse the Rumpe end of the longe Parliament dissolved or interrupted by the Militia men [in 16]53 doe not shewe better cards for itt. Indeede Oliuer[s] sonne, heire, and successor is in a mellancholy posture att Whitehall, rather watched then attended there. It is belieued that he shall exchange his gouernment of beasts for bucks and comaunde in chiefe for some tyme in New Forrest. His relations to old Oliver and the tribe now in power may pleasure him soe farr. His adherents, or rather his desertours, Secretary Thurlow, Strickland, Fawconbrige, Ph. Jones, Haward, Inglesby, Goff, Grauenor, Lagan are retired, chastened and discountenaunced; only Thurlow sticks for some tyme and may be vsefull for a season. Wallingford howse is the seane for action. There Fleetewood, Desborow, with the greatest officers seeke God for counsell and act their owne way. The eicted officers, as Lambert, Harison, Okey, Merton, Ludlow, etc., labour to be readmitted into their commaunds millitary, as the Republique men doe to their dominion ciuill. But they are happily too great spiritts and not soe well manageable, very likely to sett vpp (as formerly) for themselues and to forgett their raisers; for certaine there is much present confusion. What order will be produced, I thinke they doe not yet vnderstand themselues. The meanest Redcott catches att the reynes of Gouverment; they agitate againe, and fault their leaders. The

Cauees are banisht from this citty 20 miles,<sup>a</sup> and others confined 5 miles of home without any exception but to those that neede itt not, men in dureance and in prissons. This day his new Excellency Fleetewood hath granted protections vnder his hand and seale to some few that sought them. I can see noe light springe out of this chaos. The Post letters were stopt Saturday and Thursday last. Our chieffe will not lett the countrey vnderstand more then is meete for them, att least they will haue the priuiledge of tellinge them the first lye. 'Tis too young daies with vs to guesse what the Irishe Harry, the Scottes Munck, or the Sea Mountague will doe. Lockeer is neere you and considerable. Hee may neuer liue to a better opportunity. I hope wee are not damned to Issachars curse, to crouch vnder our burdens. I am sure they are heauy, and they that are ouer vs fitt only to gouerne such cattle. The citty beast is as tame as a tyred jade that cannott soe much as kicke, and I thinke they will parte euen with their orphants mony to theire beloued Redcotts. The citty Treasury, tithes and colledges are in jeopardy; mony must be had for theis mocke saints on any termes. 'Tis talke this day they are formeing a new Instruement for a plott-forme of Gouverment. When that apperes, wee may possibly vnderstand our masters and our duty. 'Tis said that tomorowe they haue a randezvoos att Highe Parke; they estimate theire army in and about this towne betweene 5 and 6000 men; I presume not fiew, and not soe many more beside in all the land. Sir, my seruices to all yours. I am

Your euer constant and most humble servant,

J. YOUNGE.

*Endorsed by Nicholas, Mr. Miles.*

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<sup>a</sup> See Whitelocke, *Memorials*, 24 April (p. 677).

1659.

"MR. JOHNSON."

14

April 29<sup>th</sup>, St. Vet.

f. 384.

. . . They (officers of the army)<sup>a</sup> haue raised a spirit they know not how to lay. Fleetewood and Desborow haue gon too farr to retreate and haue offended beyound a pardon and perhaps beyound their power of satisfaction, should they really desire to make it. The inferior officers would supplant them, as they haue don their master, and the common souldier strives to promote himself, which he might easily do, had Minerva favoured him like Mars. Sir Henry Vane and his party, that haue contrived this disorder, are excluded all sides. The army in England is not above 6000 and dare not rendezvous for feare of a mutiny, divided [as] they are, and complayne of one another bitterly, but are not forward to fight. Fower of Monkes regiments are of this party, but the other ten stand yet firme. Messengers are dispatched hence to turne them, and others into Ireland to secure Hen. Cromwell, as they haue don his brother here. Maj. Generall Lawson<sup>b</sup> is going to take Admirall Montagues command, if he will part with it. And to all these it is thought fitt the King should dispatch able persons with all speed, whose power may yet restore his Ma<sup>ty</sup>, but wilbe used in vaine for Cromwell, who is irrecoverably lost. Desborrow and Fleetewood are little better. Lambert is restored his regiment and some others that were outed. In fine his Ma<sup>tie</sup> is beleueed by all to haue a faire game, if he can be ready to play it before they pack their cards anew.

*Decipher ; endorsed by Nicholas, Mr. Johnson.*

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MARQUIS OF NEWCASTLE.

NOBLE SIR,

f. 387.

I receued yours off the 12<sup>th</sup> and giue you manye thanks for your exselente good newse. Wee haue itt heer that the Parla-

<sup>a</sup> The words in brackets interlined by Nicholas.

<sup>b</sup> Captain John Lawson, appointed by order of Parliament 26 May, 1659, to be commander-in-chief as Vice-Admiral in the Narrow Seas. He was knighted 24 Sept. 1660.

mente is disolude by Cromwell; butt hee was forste to itt by the armeys, whoe tolde him, iff hee woulde nott disolue them, theye woulde. And then theye saye theye came to Cromwell and tooke awaye all the dishes off meate hee had butt one. Cromwell wente presentlye to Hamton Courte, and letters frome the Venetian Embasadore saye thatt hee beleues by this time ther is a garde sett vppon him. Fleetwoode is made Generall off the armeys and Lamberte Leuftenante Generall, and this is the Red-Cotes, which I alweyes sayde woulde doe what theye liste. Some talkes the Presbeterians begin to apeere in diuers partes off the kingdome, butt I doubte that yett. Greate confutions and alterations is dayleye lookte for, and I hope in God itt will produce exselente thinges for the Kinge; for sertenlye Fleetwood and Lambert can neuer make their aduantage and setlmente so well as to serue the Kinge. My seruice to my Lord Chanselor and tell him thatt now I hope to wayte off him to Westminster to see him take posesion of the Chanserye and vppon one off my horses of manege, which will bee the quieteste, safest and shureste hee or anye man can haue. You see howe my hopes transportes mee with the passion I haue for my gratius master. God sende vss a good meetinge att Whit Hall, and so I reste constantlye

1659.

Your moste faythfull seruante,  
W. NEWCASTLE.

Antwerpe, the 13 May, 1659.

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EDWARD MASSEY.

SIR,

I thanke you for the honour of yours of the 2<sup>d</sup> present with the enclosd, the which by this inclosd I haue desired to answere as farr as I conceiue needfull on my parte, and I hope, when it is

f. 393.

1659.

disceypherred, *Lo. Chan. will shew it to his Ma<sup>tie</sup>*, though it be ill sett together by reason that, finding *all things out of methode in his Ma<sup>ties</sup> service, for toying vpp and downe* by endeauouring to put *them right I could vse lesse methode in writting*, but haue therin sent such truths as is most meete his *Ma<sup>tie</sup> should know*. I am now in very good hope *that men will at last awake out of their security and sloth, though late*; for hitherto I haue seene nothing gone aboute, but such as were intrusted *were very graue and formall*, as if that would carry the matter, but now I hope better of them. I thanke you for your newes and must returne you some of ours, that we now are in hope for a settlement of y<sup>e</sup> army and the recalling y<sup>e</sup> good Long Parliament that Cromwell dissolued. It is said that the army in Scotland haue sent to the army here to assure them that they will follow the way they shal goe only. Newes is come out of Ireland that the souldiers there intended to haue possessed themselues of Harry Cromwell there as they haue done of Richard here, but he vnderstanding of y<sup>e</sup> designe prevented them and hanged vp 2 or 3 of the cheefe designers and so spoyled their game there. Some yet say that the generallity of y<sup>e</sup> officers of y<sup>e</sup> Generall Counsell of y<sup>e</sup> army, as they terme themselues, are not so assured of carrying on their Comonwealth that they demurr and haue yet thoughts to settle Cromwell, though not in so greate power. In fine, they hope they haue overcome their difficultys and speedily intend to settle their Comonwealth, *and I feare quickly will, if they be not speedily prevented*. I shall in these humbly begge one fauour from you, that after you haue humbly tendred my duty at his Majesties feete you would please to tell him it is my humble request he would please to comand *a generall fast and prayer by his whole Court, att least each one apart in their lodgings*. Who knows what the Lord will doe for his *Ma<sup>tie</sup>*, if wee seeke to him with all our harts? Otherwise we begin at y<sup>e</sup> wrong end, I feare, and cannot but much lessen our hope. Therefore I hartily beseech you, Sir, to vrge it home *vpon him*, and however you will not loose

*your reward*, being confident, Sir, you will not deny him your prayers, who is, Sir,

1659.

Your very humble servant,  
749, 866, 913, 888 (MASSEY).

London,  $\frac{2}{13}$  May, 1659.

*Endorsed by Nicholas, M[ajor] G[eneral] Minden.*

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SIR JAMES HAMILTON.

SIR,

I did desayere one that is (I houpe) with you befor this tyme to present my most humble service to you and to tell you that I am verie sensible of the favores you waere plaesed to do me when I was in prison and to my sonne, who hes aquented me with your kyndnes to him. I heire that hē is gone to his quarter and left my busines to you. I belue you will know me by this, tho I haue takine ane other nam. I thoct it fit to akuent you with what I heire from a good hand, that alltho Fleetwod and Desborie was the cheife caus of the braekin up of the parliament, yeit they do not intend to distroy the Protector, but to hould him still up and act under his name. Ther is many others intends to pull him doune and setille a commone waelth. Ther is at this tyme tuo Counsells; on sits at Whytehall, the other of the officers sitt at Wallingfoord hous. Those officers that waere pute out by the leate Protector ar replaced; much confution ther is amongst them, and they say they faere ane invatione from abroad, for they conceaue that France, Spaene and Holland ar combynd agaenst them. The French ambasadore denyeth to know any thing of the paece, and doeth much presse for the arriers of the queine of England. Sir, if I can serue you by the akuentin you with whate passes, I shall do it freely, and I belue from good hands. If you thinke it fitt to send me a cypher, it will be more sure; but I shall liue that to you. If you will honore me with your comands, send yours to Mr. Booll at Calais,

f. 395.

1659. and I shall haue them. I shall say no more, but that you shall  
allways find me to be, Sir,

Your most faethfull and most humble servant,

THO. JACKESON.

Mr. Baron knows my name.

Calais, the 14 May, 1659.

*Endorsed by Nicholas, Sr. Jam. Hamilton from Callais by the name of Tho. Jackson.<sup>a</sup>*

### PERCY CHURCH.

RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup>,

This 16 of May, 1659.

f. 396. I haue yours of the 10<sup>th</sup> instant and here send a transcript and two prints, which Twesday last I receaved from my freind, whereby your Honour may well iudge both Cromwells then condition and his freinds, whoe in all probability before this time are, as y<sup>e</sup> Caualiers and Papists, forst from London, though I hope not our freind. . . . If your Honour hath not allready acquainted our freind with *Mr. Armorers<sup>b</sup> being in London*, as knowne *in our Court*, it weare necessarie, least *they hunt counter. Middletons being their* is alsoe spoken of, but not soe confidently. That y<sup>e</sup> peace is certainly concluded noe man here doubts; but for the articles or time of publishing y<sup>e</sup> same will, as 'tis thought, not bee sudden or at least till the two great ministers of State haue mett. For *mee to learne what Sir Ro. Murrey negotiats* is impossible, otherwise then by coniecture or observation, though I [see] the *K[nigh]t dayly, and often with more then ordinary confidence, in our Court*; and, if I am not much deceaued, it is *upon the old Presbyterian score*. My reason to beleue that P. T.<sup>c</sup> past this way was because an acquaintance of mine had some letters from Flanders for one in towne, whoe (*sic*) vpon de-

<sup>a</sup> Another letter from him to Nicholas under the same pseudonym is in *Cal. St. Pap.* p. 354, dated  $\frac{23 \text{ May}}{2 \text{ June}}$ .

<sup>b</sup> Major Nicholas Armorer (vol. i. p. 303).

<sup>c</sup> Peter Talbot, the Jesuit.

liuery the party sayed, "Though at present I know not where hee is, yet I think I shall quickly find him," which in my oppinion argued his priuat beeing, notwithstanding, as your Honour sayes, hee embarqued in Zeland. But howeuer I shall vpon occasion endeour to giue a better accompt and espetially if y<sup>e</sup> aduise I expect comes to my hands. As vpon Munday last Lockhart at a publike audience congratulated his Ma<sup>ty</sup> for y<sup>e</sup> peace, soe hee assured [him] that, though some disputes had happened betweene his master Cromwell and officers of y<sup>e</sup> armie, yet all would bee composed and bee more settled in power then euer. The same night late arriued an express to him from England and y<sup>e</sup> next about eight hee was some two houres with y<sup>e</sup> Cardinall, to whome if hee made a true confession, his masters condition would easely bee vnderstood by his Eminence. Doeth *the Dukes of Yorke and Glocester come hither as spoken?* Wee in the fauxburgs heare that y<sup>e</sup> Dutchess of Richmond intends shortly for England and *'tis whispered as if Titus were in Paris.* The prisoners that were taken at Dunkerke and there abouts are releast out of y<sup>e</sup> Bois de Vincennes and some other parts, hauing had a route giuen them for Flanders, and accordingly mony sent thence to eatch officer though not Spaniards, or at least as y<sup>e</sup> officers of our Kings guards say, whoe not beeing thought of with y<sup>e</sup> rest are much troubled. I hope your Honours next will not only bring vs some perticulars of y<sup>e</sup> 2 Northern Kings, the Englishe fleete and Hollanders beeing gone to sea, but likewise the good newes of his Ma<sup>ty</sup>s sudden and now handsome supply of mony from y<sup>e</sup> King of Spaine, wherein if hee fayles may his next plate fleete perishe by Turke or rebell, and hee want help when euer fortune frownes vpon him. . . .

*Unsigned ; endorsed by Nicholas, Pe. Ch.*

1659.

"MR. JOHNSON."

(16)

May 1<sup>st</sup>, 1659.

f. 398.

The army puts vs now in great hopes that the old Parliament shalbe reassembled and that we shalbe setled into a Commonwealth, and I heare there are neere vpon a hundred of the old members already in and about London, but, by reason of the Terme (which the Protector would not consent to adjourne) and not to stop the proceedings in law, it is probable the gouernment shall goe on in his Highnesse name till the end thereof. I am told the K. of England will neuer haue the like opportunity to come in if he loose this — army and London both divided, the navy remote, Crumwell forsaken by all. Almost euery body would welcome the King and not a few expect him. It would do well if some were sent speedily to Henry Crumwell, Munke and Mountague; for, if one of them take his interest, it is hoped the rest may follow or doe the worke alone. The navy is sent for from the Zound. If his Majesty loose this occasion, I désaire. This<sup>a</sup> in shorte to avoyd jealousy, should this be opened going this way.

Let me advise you not to be too forward in dealing for Spanish commodities, for we are already treating with Spaine about a peace, and if either the Long Parliament sitt againe (whereof I see little doubt) or we mould into a Common wealth, it will quickly be effected.

*A decipher, endorsed by Nicholas, Mr. Johnson.*

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SIR E. NICHOLAS TO E. MASSEY.

SIR,

Bruxells, 1<sup>st</sup> Maij, 59.

I have now received yours of the 22<sup>th</sup> of the last month, beeing the 3<sup>d</sup> I have had from you since I saw you, and I have alwayes read to the King all your letters to me and assure you his Ma<sup>tie</sup>

<sup>a</sup> He apparently means the preceding paragraph, written in cipher or shorthand.

is extreame well pleased with your writing soe particularly and playnely of all things and persons, and that you are soe well satisfied in the busines of Bristol and Gloucester. I am sorry that you have not yet spoken with Mr. How, who is most able to serve the King in the busines of Gloucester. I am confident Mr. Pile or Mr. Hopton will find some meanes to bring you together, for they and Mr. Clayton were the only persons that first prepared the busines of Bristoll and Gloucester in order to the Kings service, and to their sollicitacion and care his Mat<sup>tie</sup> owes the good that may accrue to his service from those places. My Lo. Chancellor hath now and formerly by severall dispatches written to you and Mr. Titus att large of all things, and to Mr. Mordaunt and others to conferre with all prudence with you, soe as I shall say nothing to you of those particulars. I am sorry that those his Mat<sup>tie</sup> hath relyed on with most confidence are still soe slow to advise with you or with one another about preparing of busineses against there may be occassion, to which, me thinkes, the care of their owne preservacion, if not of the Kinges service, should prompt them. It cannot be imagined that the King or any here can vpon this great change in the government in England by his frendes advise or instruct what to doe there; for they that are on the place are the most proper and best judges how to prepare and when and in what manner to act in order to their owne safety and his Mat<sup>ties</sup> interest, for they best know what strength they can make, if they would unanimously unite their counsellors and their severall forces together. I doubt, as you say, that the best spoken men are not the best men for action; I am sure the King hath alwaies agreed to send whomsoever his frendes on that side have desired from him. God unite all his Mat<sup>ties</sup> frendes hertes and handes, and direct them to doe what may be most for the advantage of his service.

The peace between France and Spain is concluded and a cessation of armes commanded in all the frontiers; and the plate fleet is safe arrived in Spain, being the richest that hath come

1659. from the Indies these many yeares. The States fleet is now reddey and, if not gone, stayes only for a winde.

*Endorsed by Nicholas, Coppy of myne to Mr. Minden.<sup>a</sup>*

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SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup>,

f. 400.

. . . . I doubt nott butt you longe since receiued the newes of the sodaine changes in England; to disguise the truth wheroff Mr. Lockheart and his emissaries, seconded with the generall voyce of the Protestants here, doe giue out that all is done by contriuanee and consent of all parties, and that the Parlament before their dissolution did nott onely establish a Councell to assist the Protector, butt also decree and settle a course for the orderly raysinge of moneyes for payment of the soldiers, and that all thinges in England goe as well as heart can wish. This also Mr. Lockhart assured the Kinge and Queene in a publike audience he had of them seuerally on Munday last; on which occasion the Queene tellinge him (when he congratulated the peace betweene France and Spaine) that she could haue wished England had allsoe bee[n] comprised, hee replyed in high termes that they would, when they thought it expedient to make their peace, constraine the Spaniard to goe and aske it at London. I hope this is noe other then *Bonne mine au mauvais jeu*, for doubtlesse the present conjuncture of affaires both at home and abroad cannot butt threaten (in any cleare-sighted judgment) much danger of the ruine of that diabolical fabrick in England of late yeares erected by Atheisme and Rebellion, of the certainty of which destruction this their pride and arrogance seemes also to bee a forerunner.

The conclusion of the peace betweene the two crownes is now past all peraduenture. Besides the French Queenes declaring it publicly in hir discourse, the Cardinal sent lately a person of

<sup>a</sup> It is really a draft, very roughly written and a great part in shorthand.

quality to the Venetian Ambassador here (who immediatly dispatched an expresse to Venice, who obleeged himselfe to performe the journey in six dayes) to assure him the peace was made, willinge him to giue the State of Venice notice theroff, and to acquaint them that now nott only France butt other Potentates of Europe would vigorously ioyne in their assistance against the Turke. I hope wee may safely conclude *per argumentum a minori ad maius* that the same powers will nott make difficulty to vnite their force for chastisement and extirpation of the greater enemies of piety and Christianity within the pale. The cessation of armes is for two months, to expire the 10<sup>th</sup> of July, all contributions to continue in the meantime. Some say the publication of the peace will nott bee before that day; others affirme it stayes only for the arriual of the courier from Madrid with the Kinge of Spaines ratification. Piemantel hath beene of late, and still is, lodged at Berny, where the maister of that place, Mon<sup>r</sup>. de Lyonne, is on Sunday next to treat the Kinge, Queene and Court most sumptuously, at which feast Piemantel also is to bee, and certaine it is that hee is (as in my last) to appeare here shortly in quality of Ambassador. There might perhaps something bee sayd why should nott his Mat<sup>y</sup> also haue his publike minister heere, since hee is allowed the title of Kinge, though in warre with rebell England as the Spaniard is, and why, yf England shall henceforwards continue, as now they doe, to bringe Spanish prizes into the ports of France, and Spaine theirs also, our little Armada may not returne to Brest. The Duke of Orleans came yesterday to this towne to visit the Kinge and Queene to congratulate the peace. The Cardinal (though in no very athletick state of health) went out to meete him. His Highnesse intends nott to stay aboue a weeke or tenn dayes, and soe returne to Bloys. Mar<sup>l</sup>. de Turenne is gone to Amiens. The Spanish prisoners at Bullen and in the Boys de Vincennes are all released. Those at Beauvais and ovr English haue nott yett obtained the like grace. Mr. Montague's absence (now at Bourbon) falls out

1659. unhappily for these latter. Wee haue here in towne a rumour that the ports in England are stopped. I should else bee inclinable to keepe these letters a little longer unsealed in hope to adde somthinge of importance from those parts, which, yf the post arriue, will I assure myselfe bee conueyed to your Honour by other pennis. . . .

Your Honours most faithfull and  
most humble servant,

Q. N.

Paris, this 16 May, 1659.

*Endorsed*, Sir Ri. Browne.

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“MR. MILES.”

SIR,

Munday, 9<sup>th</sup> May, 59.

f. 400.

The old Speaker Lentall after somme pretended conflicts with himselfe, and not without execrations, the day before resumed the chaire in y<sup>e</sup> howse of Commons, with somme 50 more confederats, such only as were sworn enemies to kingshipp. They entred the howse from the Paynted Chamber, as the beasts did the arke, in couples and fell presently to their scale of votes, whereof the first was to establishe their owne Royalties, to declare themselves the Supream Power of the nation, etc. That day Sir Geo. Booth, Sir John Clottworthy, Knightly, Prynn, etc., were repulsed from y<sup>e</sup> doores. They satt agen isterday as Lords of y<sup>e</sup> Sabathe. This day were mett in y<sup>e</sup> howse by the former Sir W<sup>m</sup>. Waller, Browne, etc., that challenged their right for themselves, and a number more considerable of that packe that would vsurpe the howse to themselves, and indeede they were the chieffe assertors of the old cause and first interrupted by Oliver's army. Of this party was Mr. W<sup>m</sup>. Perpoint, whoe neuer offered to sitt in y<sup>e</sup> howse (since Prides forcible exemsion) till this tyme. This was intirpretted a disturbance and caused a suddaine adiournement of the howse to y<sup>e</sup> afternoone. And against that meeteing a troope of horse and halberdeers attended to abett the

Rumpe and repell Mr. Prynn, whoe indeede spoake very bouldly, denyinge any power of sittinge there. Some protestations may iustly be expected from y<sup>e</sup> excluded party. Their feares are greate, and their taske farr greater. Famous Hen. Martin,<sup>a</sup> that was preferd immediatly from a goale to y<sup>e</sup> present old Parliament, pend by order of the howse letters to the absent Kinge-Killinge members to appere in y<sup>e</sup> sudden and soe vnexpected assembly. All of them say they retourne to y<sup>e</sup> howse by the hand of God; but Martin was brought hither (in his owne blasfemous pharse) by both hands. His late highenes Richard is nowe a very Dick with them. Jamayca att most (since it was his fathers purchase) will be his reward. The present declaration of the howse is for the settlement of the ciuill and religious rights against a single person, kings, and peeres. Last night there was a fierce search to litle purpose, but with a greate violation and affront to the French Ambassador, whoe had 8 or 10 of his owne attendants caryed away. Their feares, I doubt, are more then their enemies. Here is a stronge report that Henry Crumwell hath hanged Steele, Corbett<sup>b</sup> and others, mutinous Republicans. Those here that haue any vallue for that family are well pleased to heare their Lord Protectors quarell and iniuries reuengid. They vowe Oliver is not deade while he liues.

1659.

This new fabrick hath not yet voted for a peace with Spayne, tho they may desire it and may by an incognito Spanish agent here probably endeauor it. Munck hath written a misterious letter that doth not please them.<sup>c</sup> They wishe they had a con-

<sup>a</sup> Henry Marten, member for Berks Nov. 1640, a regicide. He had resumed his seat when the Long Parliament was restored.

<sup>b</sup> It was not true. William Steele, Recorder of London 25 Aug. 1649, was made Lord Chancellor of Ireland 26 Aug. 1656. Miles Corbet, a regicide, was made one of four Commissioners for the affairs of Ireland Oct. 1650, and Chief Baron of the Exchequer 13 June, 1655.

<sup>c</sup> Perhaps his letter to Thurloe, 3 May, ending "So desiring the Almighty that those that are in power may enter upon somethinge to keepe us in peace and quietude," etc. (*Thurloe Papers*, vii. p. 667). See Firih, *Clarke Papers*, iv. pp. 3, 10.

1659. fideinge Gouvernor att Dunckirk. The Judges adiourned y<sup>e</sup> terme this morneinge till they are comissioned by theire new masters; after [they] had a consultation in the Checkquor Chamber wheither they should sitt in the howse. Those that were old members mounted the stage and satt in the howse, tho last Satterday they refused, beinge sent for. Sir, I am at present straited in tyme. I shall begg your pardon and credit that I am, Sir,

Your ever ready and most humble servant,

W. YOUNGE.

*Addressed, For Mr. Richard Edwards theis I pray present; and endorsed by Nicholas, 1<sup>o</sup>/<sub>8</sub> May, 1659, R. 1<sup>o</sup>/<sub>7</sub>. Mr. Miles.*

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SIR ALEXANDER HUME.

SIR,

Hage, 2<sup>o</sup>/<sub>8</sub> May, 1659.

f. 403.

. . . . The English Parliament hath had such an end as wes to be wished, being, as all aduertisements agree, absolutely dissolved; but for other particulars of occurrences these relations do somewhat vary. Some letters say that Fleetwood is chosen Generall of the army and Desborough Lieut. Generall, others that Lambert is Lieut. Generall; and the last report wee hear is that Fleetwood and Desborough should both be put by and that Lambert should be Generall and maister of the Tower, which I conceiue were rather to be wished, for it is to be douted that Fleetwood and Desborough hauing so near relation to the Protector would use any power that were in their hands for his intereste, whatsoeuer they may pretend to the contrary. Another discourse wee hear, that there is a designe to sett up againe the members of the Long Parliament as they were when Cromwell dissolved it, and to annull all acts whatsoeuer that haue been done since, either in relation to the gouernment at hoame or treaties with forroyne princes and states. In a word, it is very hard to make a judgement what they will doe, and it

is not strange that others should be ignorant, for I beleue they doe not yet know themselues, nor can it possibly be expected that euer those kingdomes will settle in any peacefull gouernment untill they returne to their obedience to their lawfull soueraigne, which happy change I trust God in his mercy will produce out of the present confusions.

1659.

Of occurrences of this place I scarce haue yet had time to learne any thing, but that on Satterday last the States of Holland ar separate, being, as it seemes, resolved to see what the English affaires will turne toe before they make any conclusion of their owne, which in the meane time ar all at a stand, no more instance being now made with Douning for the signing of the Swedish treaty, nor any order yet giuen for the going out of their fleet, but only to be in readines. And it is probably beleued it may not goe at all, if the report wee hear be true of Montague being recalled with his fleet in all hast from the northern partes. The last sure aduertisement wee had wes of Opdam's being gone out from Coppenhagen with 23 or 24 Dutch and Danish ships well manned and prouided towards the Belt, with designe to relieue the Dutch ships that were blocked up by the Sweds in the hauen of Flemsburgh; which some letters from Lubeck and Hamburg tell us he hath done and obtained a great victory of the Sweds. A great part of the English fleet looked on, holding themselues neutrall. But the belief of all this is suspended untill wee haue the confirmation, which is expected with the first letters, which you shall, God willing, hear from, Sir,

Your most humble and affectionat seruant,

A. HUME.

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PERCY CHURCH.

RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup>,

This 23<sup>th</sup> of May, 1659.

. . . . I can not neclect to giue your Honour y<sup>e</sup> contents of another letter come to my hands Twesday last from London,

f. 404.

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which sayes that eare this arriues Cromwell will in all likelyhood bee sent to Windsor Castle, that Fleetwood and Dewesbrough are alsoe disliked, and that Lambert must bee y<sup>e</sup> generall or cheefe commander at land and Lawson, a Tarpaulin, at sea, y<sup>e</sup> fleete beeing remanded back from y<sup>e</sup> Sound in all hast; but, because y<sup>e</sup> new settlement of affaires will requier some time, y<sup>e</sup> gouernment (if not againe thwarted by another partie) shall bee put into y<sup>e</sup> hands of 8 persons, whereof Vane and Haslerigg to bee two, y<sup>e</sup> rest soldiers. But since Lambert by his power endeuoreth to reestablishe the old Parliament and for that purpose had priuate meetings with such of them as are in London to y<sup>e</sup> number of 10 or 12, whoe in persuance designed to conuene as Wedsonday last or Munday next, and in y<sup>e</sup> interim to summon y<sup>e</sup> rest. And for y<sup>e</sup> Lord Farfex and his sonne in law, they are noe more spoken of then if they were not in y<sup>e</sup> wourd. [It is said] that H. Cromwell in Ireland playeth a contrary game, securing and putting out all such persons as hee thinks Anibabstisticall or of the now preuayling faction in England, bee they either officers of state or armie; but what Munck intends is not yet knowne. Now, if theise things bee true, as not vnlikely, what will become of y<sup>e</sup> Sweades, especially y<sup>e</sup> Englishe Fleete returning and y<sup>e</sup> Dutch persuing their designe for y<sup>e</sup> gallant King of Denmarkes releefe?

Yesterday morning before 5 of y<sup>e</sup> clock Lockhart tooke post for Amiens to speake with y<sup>e</sup> officers of his two regiments quartered there, and thence intended with all speed for Dunkerk, whilst his secretary Capt. Cooke wente for England; but y<sup>e</sup> wives of both with most part of the family are to remaine here till further order. The Englishe print came with our freinds enclosed; y<sup>e</sup> other relates to a treatment that Mons<sup>r</sup>. de Lione gaue Sunday last to y<sup>e</sup> King, Queene, our beautifull Princess, Monsieur, Madamoiselle, and Cardinall, with many other grandees at his country howse at Berny, two legues from Paris, where from 3 in y<sup>e</sup> afternowne till about 4 y<sup>e</sup> next morning they were

intertayned, first in y<sup>e</sup> howse with musick of all sorts, then in y<sup>e</sup> garden with a play, a farce, and afterwards an extraordinarie supper with great disorder, a ballet of seven entries, and indeed admirable fire wourkes vpon y<sup>e</sup> water; which finished, y<sup>e</sup> court returned into y<sup>e</sup> howse and not before, where in a faire roome all things were prepared for a ball, which lasted nere two howres, and in the meane time Pimantell was brought in by Mons<sup>r</sup>. de Lione as an Incognito to behold y<sup>e</sup> dancing and close of all with a plentiful Banquet. . . .

1659.

*Unsigned; endorsed by Nicholas, Pe. Ch.*

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“MR. MILES.”

SIR,

I hope my last of y<sup>e</sup> 9<sup>th</sup> came safe with what accounte I could then giue you of your buissines in Chancery, soe shall not att present further troble you in that particular. Our greate courte of Parliament hath swallowed vpp y<sup>e</sup> inferrior judicatories. Olivers Great Seale is brooke to peeces, and another Republicque Seale is vpon the stocks.<sup>a</sup> Noe day of this weeke hath bin juridicall and few of y<sup>e</sup> old judges will appere vnepochriphall. Not only the licentious presse damns Fines, Glyn, St. Jons, Maynard, Thurlow, Jones, but y<sup>e</sup> members themselues doe cry them in the howse. Salaway<sup>b</sup> made a lardge harange against St. Johns, att present an enemy to y<sup>e</sup> Republic and a builder of Protector dome and contriver of his Instrument of Gouverment and vnfit for public trust. Surely he will goe and sett his howse in order and doe the highest justice on himselfe. Even Mr. Prynn, of his owne Inne and one that boldly challengeth his place in the howse too, beares a hegher sayle and asserts in printe y<sup>e</sup> old cause of Kinge and Parliament with defiance to y<sup>e</sup> vsurpers. Indeede, our new masters are very sollicitous for y<sup>e</sup> infant state

f. 405.

<sup>a</sup> An Act for a new Great Seal, 14 May (Whitelocke, p. 678).

<sup>b</sup> Major Richard Salwey, member for Worcester in the Long Parliament, of the Committee of Safety 7 May, 1659, and of the Council of State 14 May.

1659. babe. But yet, tho y<sup>e</sup> army haue baptised it, I cannot see that they care much to advance the groweth of it. Theire inclosed addresses to the Parliament<sup>a</sup> will speake them to you. The howse would raise forces and doe vote y<sup>e</sup> militia and nomination of generalls in themselues. Please to consider article y<sup>e</sup> 12, where the army acknowledge Fleetewood Commander in Chieffe of the land-forces. They erect a co-ordinate power and will be a checke to them still. I humbly referr you to it, and doe assure you theire ielousies are not yet remoued, nor theire deuisions reconsild.

I cannot heare any certainty from Ireland. Broughill<sup>b</sup> is there and can tell his tale plaucibly and, I belieue, effectually, if his hearte dare walke with his tongue. Hary Crumwell hath hanged seuerall of the Anababtists there and mutynous persons not conformable to his will; and its nowe credibly reported he hath hanged Steele,<sup>c</sup> the same person that condemned Burley in the Isle of Waite for endeaureing to rescue the late Kinge. Scotland and the nauy are not vnderstood yet, vnlesse it be by our new masters. The citty and nation are discontented and will be passiue still. A friend well attended from your side might opportunely engage the nation; but without materials necessary I will not presume to speake my sence, much lesse to giue ayme to yours. I haue not seene my fellow trauellor this 6 weekes, and but once since Christmas. Sir, I pray present my seruices to all yours and belieue me, Sir,

Your ever constant and most humble servant,

THO. YOUNG.

13<sup>th</sup> May.

*Addressed, For Mr. Richard Edwards theis att the Englishe Cloyster in Bruxells, to be left att Mr. Gerrard the Englishe Ordinary att Bruxells; and endorsed by Nicholas, Mr. Miles.*

<sup>a</sup> *Commons' Journals*, 13 May (vii. p. 651).

<sup>b</sup> Roger Boyle, Lord Broghill, 1627, and Earl of Orrery, 5 Sept. 1660.

<sup>c</sup> Above, p. 135. Steele had conducted the prosecution against Capt. Burley in Jan. 1647.

SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

1659.

RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup>,

. . . . I am told (and it is a French Protestant that affirmed it) that Mr. Lockheart in a late audience he had of the Cardinal demanded the loane of 3 hundred thousand crownes to assist Cromwell now in this difficulty wherin he was inuolued; to which His Eminency should make a short reply, that the Kinge had not money, and this with some accent of sharpnesse. What the true occasion is I cannott positiuely say, probably it may bee to secure Dunkirke. Butt certaine I am that on Wensday night, or rather early on Thursday morninge, viz. yesterday, his Pseudo-Excellency Mr. Lockheart went sodainly and hastily post out of towne towards those parts. . . .

f. 407.

Q. N.

Paris, this 23<sup>d</sup> May, 1659, S<sup>c</sup>. N<sup>o</sup>.*Endorsed by Nicholas, Sir Ri. Browne.*

COL. GERVASE HOLLES.

SIR,

I giue you this trouble very vnwillingly, whilst I haue nothing to say to you worthy a diuersion. But, if you shall please to allow me y<sup>e</sup> liberty to do my selfe right in giuing you assurance of my faithfull affections and seruice towardes you, I hope your goodnes will forgiue what inconuenience you may haue by it. This place (as to newes) is y<sup>e</sup> common mint of false coyne; yet you would wonder to know in a busy time when so much is expected how litle is current. I expect euery poast to heare that something is vpon y<sup>e</sup> stage besides those villanies that haue now possest it theis twenty yeares, but we sleep and appeare not, expecting (I feare) that God Almighty shall performe our p<sup>ar</sup>tes for us without us. It is impossible els that such a contemptible packe of villaines, so despicable both in their number and conditions, should thus longe enslaue a warlicke and a populous

f. 408.

1659. nation. But we expect y<sup>e</sup> theiues will fall out, and then we shall haue our owne with y<sup>e</sup> lesse hazard. Beleieue it, Sir, this is a faint expectation. The common necessity their villanies haue engaged them in will sewe them fast together, how distant soeuer they may be in their ambitions and affections, and, if we keep our swordes in y<sup>e</sup> sheath, you will hardly heare that they cut their owne throates. I liue here in expectation of something to invite me ouer, that, as I haue liued, so I may endeaour to dy in doing my duty, and to that end haue now made tryall of all honest expedients to set me forward, being not willing to depart in a stench from those whose charitable goodnes haue bene a mayne part of my support. I hope my relations in England will supply me at John Warners returne (which he promist me to endeaour within three weekes) and then (God willing) I returne with him, and would be glad before to receaue your commandes, being from my very heart, honoured Sir,

Your most humble and most faithfull seruant,

G. HOLLES.

Rotterdam May 17, 1659.

SIR ALEXANDER HUME.

SIR,

Hage, 17 May, 1659.

f. 410b.

. . . . It is thought strange by many that either the French ambassadour or this state would haue closed a treaty at this time with Douning, the condition of England being such as it cannot be known where the souerayne power resides or how the preuailing partie there shallbe obliged to performe what he undertakes. But he still ownes Richard for his maister and affirms that all those late commotions will rather strengthen then weaken his authority and had the confidence upon Satterday last on that his maisters behalf to giue in a memoriall to the Gecomitteerd Raed of Holland complaining of the Duke of Yorke and Gloster's being at the Hage at the Spanish Ambassadors house. Whereupon

1659.

that College sent for Mr. Oudart<sup>a</sup> and by the mouth of the Pensionary de Witte deliuered unto him a message to be caryed to the Princesse representing unto her the obligation lay upon them to disaproue of the Dukes coming not only within the prouince of Holland but euen to the Hage itself, being a thinge contrary to their treaties and resolutions and to diuerse intimations formerly giuen, and therefore intreating that her Highnesse would be pleased to get her brothers forthwith to withdraw themselues out of the prouince, lest they themselues should be forced to take some other order on it. This message being deliuered to her Highnesse by Mr. Oudart, shee returned by him this answer, that shee had no knowledge of her brothers coming hither till they were comed, and that they were not loged at her house but at the house of a publick minister in whos maisters seruice they were; that they had comed only with intention to see her and to returne very speedely, and, if they were not allready gone, shee was confident they were upon going. And so her Highnesse went immediately to their loging and hauing there dined with them caryed them instantly to Hunslardye, where shee hath been priuately with them euer since, but I beleeue their stay will not be long there. They came hither on Thursday night late, and the next day kept within dores till night (their sister being with them at their loging), and, when it was darke, they went to uisite the Queen of Boheme and the Princesse Douagere, and the next day after they went from hence. God allmighty, I hope, will in his owne time bring the King their brother and them to such a condition as those who now reject them shall be glade to inuite them. From the Zound wee haue no confirmation of Opdam's victory ouer the Sweds, nor indeed of any rencontre at all that he hath had of late. . . .

Your most affectionat and humble seruant,

A. HUME.

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<sup>a</sup> Nicholas Oudart, secretary to Mary, Princess of Orange (vol. i., p. 73).

1659.

## PERCY CHURCH.

RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup>,This 30<sup>th</sup> of May, 1659.

f. 412.

. . . . As for Nic. Armorers late beeing in England, though not acknowledged by your Honour vpon my aduise, yet the thing was noe more a secreet to others [than] y<sup>e</sup> time of his arriuall back to Bruxells, and for L. G. Middletons there beeing I gaue it only as an vncertainty, and both without designe of curiositie, but on y<sup>e</sup> contrarie to informe your Honour of what I sometimes heare, as that in my presence *father Tho. Talbot* vpon discourse said that *his brother Peter*, if in England, was imployed by y<sup>e</sup> leaue of a pass brought him the last winter to Bruxells from Cromwell by a Parliament man. To which I replyed that, in case hee see negotiated without the permission of y<sup>e</sup> King, hee much more merited an ill censure then praise, and this *Peter* may possibly now know, for at present one tells mee that Wednesday night last there came out of England two straingers to inquire for *father Thomas* at his lodging, and y<sup>e</sup> partie that saw them beleued *Peter* to bee the one, whereof by the next I shall endeour to informe your Honour. . . .

Seuerall letters here say that Admirall Opdam with some of y<sup>e</sup> Danes mett a squadron of Sweades, fought and totally defeated y<sup>e</sup> Sweades in sight of y<sup>e</sup> Englishe Fleete, which medled not either with the one or other party; if true, and that Ruyter bee at last gone to y<sup>e</sup> Sound, the Sweades in all probability must bee lost, and that I hope your Honours next will confirme with many perticulars of that fight. *Sir Ro. Murrey is not only most graciously receaued, but much consulted with all.* . . . What hast Lockhart made for Dunkerke I mentioned in my last, and haue not since heard how or wheather at all hee hath bine receaued there; but in y<sup>e</sup> meane time his great lady certainly intends to sell his howshold stuffe, with resolution to bee gone hence vpon his first orders. . . .

*Unsigned; endorsed by Nicholas, Pe. Ch.*

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SIR RICHARD BROWNE.

1659.

RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup>,

. . . . Mr. Lockheart (hauinge receiued a conuoy from Mar<sup>l</sup>. de Turenne at Amiens) arriued safe at Calice, and from thence (as the French haue it, and pretend that the aduice comes from Mar<sup>l</sup>. de Turenne) beinge mett by two hundred officers from Dunkerke gott safe into that towne, where two Commissaries from the Parlament take the oath of fidelity from the soldiers there; the truth and particularities wheroff will bee sooner and better knowne vnto your Honour, as also possibly to vs here, after the arriuall of the Calice Post this eueninge. Meanewhile his wife here sells all hir houshold stuff and is remouinge hence with all hir family. Shee hath beene offered twelue hundred pistolls for one suite of hanginges. Some affirme that Mr. Lockheart was from hence furnished with fifty thousand crownes, wherwith to content and secure the garrison, butt I suspend my beleife of this particular vntill I bee better assured. Amon[g]st the much English newes wee haue here they tell a story of the Duke of Buckingham's hauing killed a lacquay of his, for which hee is gott out of the way for feare of being questioned. I am told that Mr. Rob. Longue is here. Hee lodgeth nere the Palais Royal. Wee heare that the Earles of Salisbury, Leicester and Warwick<sup>a</sup> are all three at the point of death. I hope your Honour hath amongst other peeces lately printed at London seene a sheete of paper sayd to [be] written by Mr. Prin intituled *The true good old cause rightly stated, and the false uncauld*.<sup>b</sup> . . .

Your Honours most faithfull and  
most humble seruant,

Q. N.

Paris, this 30<sup>th</sup> May, 1659, S<sup>c</sup>. N<sup>o</sup>.*Endorsed by Nicholas, Sir Rich. Browne.*

<sup>a</sup> Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, died 29 May, 1659. Salisbury survived till 1668 and Leicester till 1677.

<sup>b</sup> Brit. Mus. Thomason Tracts, E. 983 (6\*). Dated by Thomason, 13 May, with note, "I believe by Mr. Prin".

1659.

"MR. MILES."

SIR,

23<sup>th</sup> May, 59.

f. 414.

Our new statesmen here haue nowe ship'd themselues in such a bottome that they cannot securely be vnder sayle or att anchor nor with safety quitte. Their jealasies and feares are not alone of their enemies, but of their friends alsoe, euen the men in buffe that gaue them their second birthe. The army ownes Fleetewood for their Generall, and the howse of Parliament haue voted the Speaker Lentall, in his pollitic capacity as heade of the Rumpe, for their constant Generall, and vnder him (accordinge to the State meane) many Liffinant Generalls by comission, as Fairfax, Fleetewood, Desborow and Lambert for the executory parte. The Parliament sees it expedient to raise newe forces; the army is jelouse that it may be to subdue them as well as y<sup>e</sup> enemy, even as y<sup>e</sup> men leuyed by the Kings comission against Ireland were imployed to his owne ruine. This, I suppose, is the reason why militias are not establisht as yet in citties and counties. Surely the rookes smell powder and knowe not well whether they shall suffer it to take fire or noe; as a greate and well ordered fire may consume them, soe a scattered flame of stubbles and strawe will not offend them, but rather enlighten and aduantage.

Here 'tis much said that Henry Crumwell and Broghill are vigorously in armes in prosecution of their Irishe dominion against y<sup>e</sup> newe republic, and that younge Richard, late Profectour, refused to signe a letter drawn by the Councell of State to require Henry to his obedience and submission to our new Englishe masters. The faithfull Lentall hath not yet (as in the daies of old) told his fellowe members againe, "Gentlemen, I haue receiued letters from Ireland, and shall tell you what great services God hath donn for you there". I hope that by this tyme blasphemy and rebellion are ripe for vengeance. I cannott be assured that Mouncke, Lochier or Mountague haue yet addressed any sattisfactory missiues to our reuiued lords. My

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fellowe trauellor is still incognito, to me att least, and [I] haue not seene him but once since Christmas, and that not without some difficulty then. I deliuered your commaunds to him and since mynded him of them by a friend. Cozin Henry in his last tells me my friends wonder they heare not from me. I haue not misst one convoy this 15 or 16 weekes and receiued in all 3 from you since I came to towne. The inclosed is to your nephew; in his absence to your friend Mr. Knowles. You will receiue another from Cozin Henry to Mr. Macklin,<sup>a</sup> your old comarde (comrade) and partner, in whose charitable oppinion I much desire to liue. My countrey man Thomas went about 4 daies since to y<sup>e</sup> countrey to make some composson (*sic*) with his creditors, but before he was 40 miles out of towne mett some friends [who] diswaded him from it for some tyme vpon stronge assureances a litle delay would be much to his aduantage. I hope he will yet doe well and in a shorte tyme be able to sett vpp his trade agen, redeeme his fortune and credit. I doubt he and other younge men of his tyme and quallity and dealeing wants good aduise, the want whereof is the cause soe many younge trasemen breacks dayly. I knowe there is noe care or dilligence wantinge, but experience and advise. Sir, you well knowe the greate accounte betweene me and Mr. Knowles. Pray, preserue me his charitable oppinion, and assure him I shall to the vttmost of my power constantly endeauour to doe him right. Sir, my seruices to all yours and belieue me (what really I am)

Your euer constant, faithfull and  
most humble servant,

W. YOUNGER.

23<sup>th</sup> May, 59.

Your friend Miles is yet in towne and staies (I belieue) 10 or 12 daies yet. What commaunds you [give], shall be obeyed. They haue sent some 6 troopes of Horse westward. They knowe

<sup>a</sup> Pseudonym for Hyde (*Cal. Cl. St. Pap.* iii. pp. 175, 212, etc.). "Knowles" may also be a pseudonym.

1659. not which is of greatest concerne to them, to secure themselves at home or from abroad. Your friends, as well as you can reasonably desire, wishe your safe speedie retourne.

*Endorsed by Nicholas, Mr. Miles, by Fra[nce].*

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“MR. MILES.”

SIR,

27<sup>th</sup> May, 59.

f. 416.

The Rumpe fortifies apace. Tumble downe Dick hath kissed the tayle and subscribed to theire soueraignetyes.<sup>a</sup> Some reports that his brother Henry likewise bowed downe to y<sup>e</sup> calfe after some reluctances and endeauours to y<sup>e</sup> contrary. The rookes smell powder and haue prepossed y<sup>e</sup> townes suspected in y<sup>e</sup> west, as Glocester, etc.; but y<sup>e</sup> counties and this citty stands still at a gace (gaze) and haue not yet bowed downe to y<sup>e</sup> new idoll. The jealousies twixt y<sup>e</sup> army and theire creatures, y<sup>e</sup> present lords, contynewe, soe that noe militias are settled nor new levies made. I feare our inland friends will not be suffieyent, vnlesse our well-willers abroad clubb to y<sup>e</sup> reckoninge. Here haue bin some discoueries made, gunn-smithes and armorers examined, some armes taken in Glocestershire. 'Tis said that Lockier hath sent some complement to his masters att Westminster; but I can finde nothing from y<sup>e</sup> nauy. Mouncke hath sent a letter which is not vnderstood, but 'tis likely that his eyes will be opened too, when others acknowledge y<sup>e</sup> Prouidence. But still y<sup>e</sup> mynes (means) are nott visible that should sattisfy the souldiers, tho Whitehall Halle and Sumersett Howse are exposed to sale. The howse will not settle 20 thousand pounds per annum on Rich[ard] least that, with the estate left him by y<sup>e</sup> father, enable him to ballance them, and his Highenes Dowagers jointure from 8000<sup>li</sup>. per annum is deducted to soe many hundred with y<sup>e</sup> runninge of three kine in St. James Parke, and hir courte will be in the Cock-

<sup>a</sup> His formal submission was presented to Parliament 25 May (*Commons' Journals*, vii. p. 664).

pitt. Sir, vnlesse you finde a speedy way to cure vs, wee are like  
still to contynew beggers and tr[avellers?], and yet in this condi-  
tion wee are courted. The Dutch Embassador Newport bowed  
downe to Baal this weeke and gratulated y<sup>e</sup> reuiueall of y<sup>e</sup> howse  
in Englishe. My fellowe trauellor is to me incognito. . . .  
Sir, I am

1659.

Your euer constant seruant,  
W. YOUNGER.

27<sup>th</sup> May, 59.

I heare of a Spanish agent newly come, to what purpose I  
vnderstand not yet, one Father Talbott a Jesuit. Their (they  
are) already purgeinge the new Councill of State.

*Endorsed by Nicholas, Mr. Milles.*

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SIR E. NICHOLAS TO "MR. JOHNSON".

Laus Deo. At Paris, Satterday,  
7 Junij, 59.

MR. JOHNSON AND LOVING FREND,

I am much obliged to you for your care of my concernes in  
the East India Company. I have hitherto followed your good  
advise to forbear to presse any further in it, but now that the  
Commonwealth is setled and that there is a good course taken  
for rendring iustice to all men by this parliament I pray advise  
with my councell there concerning those particulars I mencioned  
in my former and consider with them vpon those seuerall heads.

f. 418.

Yours of the 3<sup>d</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> of March sent by a Franciscan fryar  
directed to Mr. Charles Siledon came not to my hands till the 2<sup>d</sup>  
of this month, being the party to whom they were delivered did  
not know to whom to deliver them, whereas, if they had with  
that superscription been put into the posthouse for Antwerp,  
they would have been there called for and sent me and soe will  
all that come by that name to that place. I have received your  
17 of the 16<sup>th</sup> of May by the way of France and since that yours

1659. of the 20<sup>th</sup> of that month sent by the way of Antwerp, which way your letters come alwayes very safe and with speede. The King hath soe great satisfaccion in the pertinent and particular intelligence which he hath received from you in this season as he is sorry that you are att this tyme (when your advises and intelligence may be of most advantage) constrayned to retire from London, but he preferres your safety before any other respectes and hopes as you meete with anything of importance in your retirement you will find some meanes to send it to him, and that as soone as you shall conceive you may with security returne to London you will contynue your dilligence in your intelligences, which are most usefull and welcome to him.

By all our last letters wee are led to believe that the army and parliament are not likely to agree. Since St. Johns is admitted to be of the Councill of State its thought he will be a meanes in tyme to bring in Thurlow likewise into that number. If you returne any bills hither they will be accepted, but I shall write noe more to you till I heare again from you, and I send this only to advertise you of the receipt of yours, which are come all safe to me ever since your being in England. I am resolved to forbear to add any more to my adventure in the East India Company till I shall have a better account of what I have there alreddy. Wee have here noe newes of the States fleete nor where Admirall Montague is with his fleete. . . .

*Draft, partly in shorthand; endorsed by Nicholas., Coppy of myne to Mr. Johnson sent by Mr. Temple.*

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SIR E. NICHOLAS TO E. MASSEY.

To M Minden,  $\frac{29}{13}$  Junii, 1659, sent  
by Ligne.

Mr. MINDEN AND LOVING FRIEND,

f. 420.

Yours of the  $\frac{3}{13}$  of May came not to my handes till the 4<sup>th</sup> of this moneth. I delivered yours to Lo. Chancellor, who having

acquainted his Matie with it will send you an aunswere. I have as you desired moved his Matie for a fast and prayers, which will be performed by some privately within their lodgings, but to appoint a generall fast may, its thought, give an alarum to the Rebells in England, who would soone have notice of it from hence by some of their spyes. Peace between France and Spain is absolutely concluded, but will not be published till there hath beene an interview between the two first ministers of the said Kings, which is now hastened. Mons<sup>r</sup>. Lockart fortifies apace at Dunkerke, with what intencion is not known. Wee here have noe newes these 15 dayes from the North, but its thought the King of Denmarke will not accept of a peace with Sweden as its proposed him by the English, French and States. There is here noe newes where Admirall Montague is or what he intends to doe with the English fleete. Wee have very uncertaine reportes of H. Cromwells proceedinges, but now his brother hath soe willingly submitted its hoped he will follow his good example. The Lord Gerrard is here, whatsoever you may there heare to the contrary. Your frequent advises of the proceedings there wilbe welcome to his Matie. There are as yet noe monyes remitted into these partes from Spain. My service I pray to your worthy friend Mr. Titus, and I pray contynue your kindnes to him who is euer, Sir,

1659.

ANT. ROBSON.

*Draft, partly in shorthand; endorsed by Nicholas., Coppy of myne to Mr. Minden.*

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"MR. MILES."

SIR,

3 June, 59.

. . . . The Rumpe sitts and assumes ye power of ye heade. They would feigne raise ye millitia in citty and countyes, and by a select Committee would new modell ye army, and in order thereto they haue dismounted some scores of officers, as Collonells, Lt.

f. 421.

1659. Collonells, Majors and Captains, etc., and introduced and restored Leuellers and expulsed Quakers; by which meanes they hope to throwe off Fleetewood, Desborow, etc., and by a pack of their owne shufflinge giue law to the nations. If this present designe takes not, they may by the army be routed and made again the argument and discourse of badlad singers. Some are very confident y<sup>e</sup> howse will nott sitt this moneth out. I know others, very knoweing men, offer any wagers they will not sitt a fortnight longer. I should haue bin much of that oppinion, if the army had not admitted too many of y<sup>e</sup> members into y<sup>e</sup> chieffe millitary commands, and suffered their new militia to be once purged by them already. Some addresses gratulatory composed att Westminster haue bin presented to them from inconsiderable places, but none from this or any other citty. And truely, if former actings and sufferances be not forgott and that men peruse the free issues of y<sup>e</sup> presse, they will not easily retourne to Egypt againe and impose theire bretheren to their former slavery of makeinge bricke without strawe. The howse hath not yet recouered the reputation of a Parliament, a word that formerly caryed armyes in it, but now is become suspected and nauseous. The pittifull Protector is still att Whitehall and hath the benefitt of his mothers table att Cockpitt. He hath kissed the tayle and subscribed to theire soueraignties and promises sacrifice and obedience to y<sup>e</sup> new idoll att Westminster. But his brother Henry will not lay downe the cudgells; soe hee will runn y<sup>e</sup> hazard of a broken pate to preserue his crowne and dignity. There is a gentleman this day come from Blew Moris, whoe assures me that the army in Ireland haue declared for Henry and are resolued to liue and dye with him. I intended you a copy of a letter from Mounck, but my friend could not compasse it to night, wherin he aduises them to agree and settle amongst themselves; till then they can expect noe resolution there, he could say nothinge to them. Mountague is still in y<sup>e</sup> Sounde, but not a worde from him as yet. They are nowe sendinge Whitlock,

Sidney, etc.,<sup>a</sup> vnder pretence of reconsileinge the 2 Kings, to worke vpon the sea officers and, if they can, secure the navy. Sir, pray pardon this rudenes; I spent this day in seekeinge and attendinge for the copy of Muncks letter to the howse, but could [not] recouer it. But I hope by the next to giue you a better accounte. Sir, I shall not at present ad to your troble, but I am

Your euer constant and faithfull,

W. GREENE.

3 June, 59.

*Endorsed by Nicholas, Mr. Miles.*

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“MR. MILES.”

MUCH HONORED SIR,

9 June, 59.

. . . . I haue only tyme to recomend this gentleman to your acquaintance and care in his buissines, and to assure you he is a person of as much integrity and affection to your concernes here that I knowe not any man that hath made your services more his buissines nor few of my knowledge whose assistance hath contributed more to forward your iust cause soe longe depending in Chancery, but more particularly in makeinge one person (as considerable as any I know) your reall friend. I hope my weakenes will not in your charitable oppinion take anythinge from his greate meritt and worth. If I had tyme, I should enlarge myselfe, but shall begg your perdon till next post; then I shall giue you some accounte of my fellow trauellor, now common and publique in towne. I askt him for those papers; he told me hee had mislaid them, that he knew not howe to finde them. Howeuer, I shall make vse of those my countreyman Thomas Stead had. I haue not opportunity to writte to Madam Huson, I meane Sir Edward Walker, and desire his

f. 424.

<sup>a</sup> Whitelocke, *Memorials*, 5 June (p. 680). Whitelocke was excused the next day (*Cal. St. Pap.* p. 365). By his own account he did not relish being joined with others where he had been an independent ambassador, and especially feared the “over-ruling temper and height” of Col. Algernon Sydney.

1659. kindnesse and aduise to my kinsman and deere friend. . . . I  
am, Sir,

Your most humble seruant,

W. M.

I sent you y<sup>e</sup> 2 last post letters for Mr. Macklin and for Mr.  
Edmundson<sup>a</sup> his master. I hope they came safe. . . .

*Endorsed by Nicholas, 1<sup>o</sup> Junij, 1659, R. 28<sup>o</sup>. Mr. Milles to me by Mr.  
Thomas.*

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“MR. MILES.”

SIR,

Munday, 19<sup>th</sup> June, 59.

f. 426. I should not haue failed you last Fryday had I not bin assured  
of this conveniency by a priuate friend and bin in some hopes of  
giuinge you a more sattisfactory account of your buissines in  
Chancery, howeuer delayed. I hope it will be this terme ordered  
to haue a peremtory day for heareinge.

Oliuers crowne (tho' once speciously guilt) is now soe full of  
reproach and thornes that none of his descendants or friends  
dare touch or auow it; but the monster is now vnderstood by  
euery pamphletter. His character is as vilde as the Rump was  
made by him in 53, and since that his Richard y<sup>e</sup> fourth hath  
deserted himselfe I cannott finde that eyther Henry or any other  
will adhere to him. He dare not stirr out of Whitehall for feare  
of arrest. It was moued in y<sup>e</sup> howse last Fryday his debts  
should be paid.<sup>b</sup> Mr. Neuell<sup>c</sup> stood vp and made answeare, if  
those must be paid, in reason the late Kinges debts should be  
first sattisfyed, and that vast somme which was contracted for  
his fathers funerall should be dischardged by those that promoted  
his Protectorshipp. The present taske of the howse is to subdue

<sup>a</sup> Macklin being Hyde, Edmundson must be the King (cf. *Clar. St. Pap.* iii.  
p. 696).

<sup>b</sup> A commission reported on 16 July that Richard's income be made up to  
£10,000 a year and that he be freed from a debt of £29,640 (*C.J.* vii. p. 720).

<sup>c</sup> Henry Nevile, member of the Council of State 19 May, 1659 (*Cal. St. Pap.*  
p. 349).

1659.

y<sup>e</sup> army by their owne consents, and soe farr y<sup>e</sup> designe hath taken that euen Fleetewood and many of the chieffe officers haue rendred their comissions, and from them at y<sup>e</sup> howse barr with congees and verball complements taken new, Fleetewood Lt. Generall of all the land forces.<sup>a</sup> This day 10 regiments will be thus modelled, Lambert haueinge the commaunde of two, thone of horse, the other a foote regiment, by y<sup>e</sup> power of the grandees of the howse, tho some members smartly opposeinge it. The army is soe tame as to suffer themselues to be weeded out by peesemells, some courtiers beinge dismissed and Commonwealthes men Anabaptists readmitted; but as yet they haue not suffered any new forces to be leuyed or their old numbers to be diminished. Baxster,<sup>b</sup> Lt. of y<sup>e</sup> Tower, was on y<sup>e</sup> change arrested by Ouerton and thence (by a kennell of serieants and the shouts and noyse of y<sup>e</sup> towne boyes) was conducted to the Counter. Since that Thurlow was in like manner saluted by a company of bum baylieffs. The commaunde of y<sup>e</sup> Tower is giuen to Coll. Fitch,<sup>c</sup> formerly a taylor, since a Coll. in y<sup>e</sup> north of Scotland, a confidant of Haslerigg and a creature of Ouerton. Desborow himselfe seemes very fraile and refuses to accept his comission from y<sup>e</sup> howse, tells the souldiers they are lost and vndonne because they suffer themselues in parte to be torne and deuided without their Councells and approbation. When the howse is assured of Ireland and the nauy, they will be content to forgett that the souldiers were at any tyme their masters, and doubtlesse will be proude to forgiue those they cannot commaunde.

They are now very hott vpon the Act of Endemnity; howe farr it will concerne y<sup>e</sup> Cauees I know not. The arrant Re-

<sup>a</sup> It was voted that he should be Lieut.-General 4 June, and he received his new commission from the Speaker 9 June (*C.J.* vii. p. 677, *Clarke Papers*, iv. p. 18).

<sup>b</sup> Col. John Barkstead (above, p. 81).

<sup>c</sup> Col. Thomas Fitch, late Governor of Inverness (*Cal. St. Pap.* pp. 138, 432). He was appointed by Parliament 10 June, and received his commission 14 June (*C.J.* vii. pp. 679, 685).

1659. publicans will haue it extend to all, both men and religions, and 'tis much y<sup>e</sup> labour of the Catholique party to represent it to them as the present interest of state to comprehend the tares as well as the wheate, caution giuen for conformity to y<sup>e</sup> State. And some belieue it an artifice to bolt out supremacy, to builde an arke here for themselues by the vniuersall deludge of all religions. There are still jealousies in the army and howse too; were the coles but blowen, the fire would soone appere. Circuits and judges wee are like to haue for y<sup>e</sup> peoples satisfaction, but these are like to be eyther vnknown or very ordinary gowenmen. You may guesse att our equity and iustice by that famous paire that haue the custody of the greate seale, Bradshaw and his fellow Fountayne,<sup>a</sup> the most solemn regicides and apostates that the nation hath known. But why doe I trouble you with such monsters? I would wee had a Hercules to deliuer vs. The howse haue voted theire owne dissolution y<sup>e</sup> 26<sup>th</sup> of May next; but when I consider the many faire pretences will be founde to y<sup>e</sup> contrary, I thinke it will not be till they become honest men or, which is as easy, glorified bodies. A friend and a person of quallity told me this day that in Ireland Sir C. Coote,<sup>b</sup> Newgent and some others are in y<sup>e</sup> heade of an army of 10 thousand men, declaringe the Scotts Kinges interest, and that Muntague is daily expected there with his fleete. Only 6 shippes declyne him and adhere to the Comonwealth. Isterday Rich. Crumwell comeinge to his mothers roome, she askt him what newes from hir sonn Henry. He answered, "Madam, I haue a letter and very good newes," and seemed much reuy[u]ed in his spiritts. They withdrew to a priuate discourse. I cannot yet learne y<sup>e</sup> effects of it. This I am sure off, for I had a friend present, whoe told me of it.

<sup>a</sup>John Fountaine, serjeant at law, appointed joint commissioner with Bradshaw and Tyrell of the "broad seal" for five months on 3 June (Whitelocke, p. 680).

<sup>b</sup>Sir Charles Coote, President of Connaught, cr. Earl of Mountrath 6 Sept. 1661.

Sir, I haue giuen you too greate a troble, I aske your pardon. . . . 1659.  
 Sir, I am

Your euer constant true seruant,

W. MOORE.

*Endorsed by Nicholas, Mr. Milles.*

“MR. MILES.”

SIR,

17<sup>th</sup> June, 59.

f. 428.

. . . . Wee are here still buildinge vp a Republique. Some of the grandees are for a generall comprehensiu state of all men of all religions; but Sir Henry Vayne is stiffe for y<sup>e</sup> guifted men allone, and those only such as his owne holines shall deeme soe. Howeuer, they are establisheinge dayly, vnlesse Ireland, Scotland or a neerer power doe preuent and annoye them. The Comissioners designed for Ireland<sup>a</sup> are stopt without any crosse wynde, which causeth men to belieue that they themselues are of oppinion that venomous beasts cannot liue in the Irishe ayre. Nothinge from y<sup>e</sup> nauy in the Zounde, tho some sorte of men crack here that they are state compliance. Sir, the greatest newes I can tell you is that Prynn hath made full sattisfaccion to y<sup>e</sup> presse for former erratas. His quill doth the best present right to our Egle and, tho his eares are lost,<sup>b</sup> he heares nowe very well and speakes more loyalty to a generall reception then any other. Some reports of some trobles in Scotland; the trueth I dare not affirme till I heare more certainty of itt. . . . I am

Your euer faithfull true seruant,

W. MILES.

*Endorsed by Nicholas, Mr. Milles.*

<sup>a</sup> Col. Philip Jones, William Steele and Robert Goodwyn appointed 7 June (*Cal. St. Pap.* p. 367).

<sup>b</sup> As part of his sentence for seditious libel, 14 June, 1637.

1659.

EDWARD MASSEY.

SIR,

f. 430.

My last vnto you was of the 2<sup>o</sup> May, then in full to 852 (*Lo. Chan.*), and of my resolution to goe downe to vizit my freinds in *Gloucestersheere*, etc.; and to see how far those promises would be made good and how ready they were for action, if need required. I found that their vndertakeings were groundd vpon some promise that had been made them that his Ma<sup>ty</sup> should first land with a force before they should ryse. However, they would adventure if Col.<sup>l</sup> Popham would appeare with his interest at *Bristol*, concerning whom I am confident Capt. Tytus hath giuen his Ma<sup>ty</sup> a full accoumpt before this, so shal not trouble you with the same. In like manner those of *Gloucester* are much at a losse since that Mr. How is sent for to the Parliamēt, who had made so great promises of so large an assistance, of whose performance I much doubt, though he be vnmolested, as I hope he will be. These things cause the worke to driue on heauily, so that, wheras I was assured that I should haue no trouble in the busines, as runing risque enough in only beinge amongst them, but I must both run and ride dayly and vse all meanes possible to provoke and incourage all partys, or my hope would soone be at an end, though now, I prayse God, I am in good hope we shall ouercome those difficulties. It is now a moneth that I haue bene here at worke among them, hauing my cheif stay and shelter in Col. Veales house by one of his sonnes, they being all zealously his Ma<sup>ty</sup>s seruants and most meete that his Ma<sup>ty</sup> should know it, for God knoweth whether euer an oportunitie may euer happen to me to see the Kings face once more. Mr. W<sup>m</sup>. Clayton hath bene extreame dilligent and paynfull also, as allsoe Dr. Rob. Fielding, phisition, of *Gloucester*; and I must not omitt honest and faithfull Mr. Blanchard, minister at *Roxall*, who hath not his fellow. Mr. Rich. Pile hath beene out of measure dilligent and paynfull, and this is most strange that we who haue

*least or rather nothing at all are still the freest and largest in expences for and in his Ma<sup>ty</sup> busines. As for the great ones, what they do for his Ma<sup>ty</sup> I know not, haueing not to this day had the fauour of one pennie worth from [them]. If I had tyme, I should be more large, but hope you will excuse my pen at present and be pleased to take notice that I receiued yours of ye  $\frac{6}{18}$  May with the enclosed from Lord Chancellor, an answer vnto which I was enforced to referre to Capt. Tytus, who is more proper thervnto and hath much more leasure besides. To send letters hence to London is very dangerous, and here is great serch made for me and many spyes appoynted to looke after me. But God be prayse, who hath kept him hitherto, though he is much discouraged to see most men onely aym to haue his Ma<sup>ty</sup> to thinke their interest as well as their zeale great for his seruice, whenas indeede I can see act neither. I finde Mr. Clayton most cordiall alsoe; but Mr. Popham and How haue ruyned vs, and I truly wish that they had not bene named in the busines, for I haue spoke with some persons who Mr. How said that he had engaged, who assured mee they had not heard from him one word these twelue monethes and who I now haue engaged, and I wish for his Ma<sup>ty</sup> good that those who call themselues Councelors [of the] Sealed Knot had neuer bene heard of, for their prudence and state in that imployment ill suites with his Ma<sup>ty</sup> condition to occasion any stop or delay, whenas the Jesuiticall and Popish party are at worke all they can to hinder him, and I am affrayde that Har. Price is an agent for them, for some honest men haue bene informed and I feare by him stoped in their resolution of paying in to his Ma<sup>ty</sup> their dutys, being tould this engagement was not vpon the right ground and so hath don great prejudice to the Kings seruice.*

Postscript. These were intended you 3 weeks past and at this tyme a more ample accoumpt of things; but I must humbly begg your pardon that I cannot write at present, haueing an

1659. opportunity for sending, which if I lett slip it may be 3 weeks longer ere I can finde perhaps such another to sende.

From, Sir, your most humble and  
faithfull servant,

866, 767.

23 June.

*Endorsed by Nicholas, M<sup>r</sup>. Minden to me.*

"MR. MILES."

SIR,

- f. 431. Your greate fauour of y<sup>e</sup> 21<sup>th</sup> instant I receiued, and deliuered the inclosed to M<sup>r</sup>. Clarke. Your suite att Common Law wee hope will come to tryall this next sessions; the rest concerned in that action passionatly desires it may be tryed this sessions. They assure me the sheriffe is iust and friendly, and will retourne vs an able impartiall Jury and most of them well knownen to your iust clayme and tyle. The mayne deede, a coppie of the will, and the surrender and all other euidences vsefull and materiall I am assured by your sollicitors will be (in euery particular) ready. The tenants earnestly wishes your speedy retourne and belieue your tymely appereance here would giue a greate advantage to your buissines; and its that somme of your Councill seeme to condemne you much, that you are not here yourselfe, to manadge a buissines of soe greate a concerne. In this I dare nott speake my sence, much lesse dirrect yours.

Richard is vendible here with an oules heade pictured <sup>a</sup> and many other circumstances of contempt, and confyned to his chamber for feare of streete baylieffes. Henry of Ireland hath laied

<sup>a</sup> See Prof. Firth's *Clarke Papers*, iii. frontispiece, for a facsimile from a copy preserved at Worcester College. The following lines are in the plate:—

"I am resolved to ride in State,  
Not caring what the small Birds prate.  
I'll keep my Seat without controul,  
If once I flinch they'll call me Owle."

downe the cudgells there<sup>a</sup> with a pusillanimity sutable of his elder brother and is suddenly expected att the Parliament barr. All that family are already in the kennell, the dirission of porters and ballad mongers. 1659.

Mony and oblivion are promised; to raise the former the whole yeres tax is suddenly to be levyed, which probably will open the eyes as well as purses of the stupid nation. Sir Hen. Wayne lookes vpon the nation as vnacquainted with its owne good and vnfitt to be trusted with power, least they abuse it to their owne and his ruine, and therefore he would haue some few refyned spiritts (and those of his owne nomination) sitt att helme of State togeather with the Councell till the people be made familiiar with a Republique and in loue with it, that is till he ceases to be. The Cauces are now most subiect to the States jealousies, tho the Prespiterians are out of fauour too. The diuissions in the army and howse contynew still. Nothinge pleaseinge from Mountague or Mounck that I can heare. And they are nowe sendinge foorth another nauall power vnder y<sup>e</sup> comande of Lawson. The peace betwixt France and Spayne is a discease to vs here, and may it end in our cure. Sir, I do earnestly begg your pardon for this greate troble I giue you. My humble seruices to all yours. Sir, I am with much sincerity and trueth

Your euer faithfull servant,

W. GREENE.

24th June, 59.

*Endorsed by Nicholas, Mr. Milles.*

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“MR. MILES.”

MOST HONORED SIR,

I hope my last, 24<sup>th</sup> instant, came safe. The inclosed to Mr. Macklin<sup>b</sup> (which came to my hands last Satterday night late) f. 433.

<sup>a</sup> He was ordered by Parliament to surrender the government of Ireland 7 June, and returned to England about the end of the month.

<sup>b</sup> Pseudonym for Hyde (above, p. 147).

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1659. brings this trouble vpon you. I am somethinge confirmed your buissines will haue a tryall next sessions, and I finde your friends wishes your nephewe Knowles or your selfe would appere in it. It would be a greate incouradgement to them and contribute much to your successe. Sir, I humbly begg your pardon; I presume not to giue you my sence, much lesse giue ayme to yours.

Oliuers greate execrations to y<sup>e</sup> late Kinge are visibly fallen vpon his posterity; they are nowe become the reproach of the vildest. There are nowe 12 Baylieffes employed to arrest Richard Crumwell, soe that he dare not peepe out of doores. Its credibly reported that Richard<sup>a</sup> hath bowed downe to the new idoll out of his zeale to the old cause; but let me assure you that Coll. Temple, whoe, [it] is said, brought this newes here last, told a friend of myne last night he only brought some propositions that he would not resolue nor stirr thence till he retourned, and that he was possitiuely resolved to goe away within 2 or 3 daies, wheither the Parliament disbatcht him or not. Its belieud nowe that Broughill and Coute, etc., are in y<sup>e</sup> heade of 6000 men, declareinge against this present gouernment. Muncke sent them a letter<sup>b</sup> that seemes rather a dissease then sattisfaccion. They sent him comissions for his officers and orders to casheere seuerall of them and entertayne others of their nomination, but he obeyed neyther, [and] sent them word he knewe noe reason he should disband the old officers he vnderstood iust and faithfull, to admitt others whose fidelity and principles he knewe not. Nothings that I heare from Mountague; only I belieue that they are very much vnsatisfyed with him, yet talke as if they intended to send comissions to the sea-officers. Last Satterday the Parliament sent 3 of their members to waite on y<sup>e</sup> French Amba-

<sup>a</sup> A slip of the pen for Henry.

<sup>b</sup> The letter dated 2 June and read in Parliament 9 June (*Clarke Papers*, iv. p. 16).

sa<sup>r</sup>or<sup>a</sup> with stronge guards of horse and foote to attend him to the howse, where they desired him (by order) to come and consult with the representatiue (as they call'd it) of England, but he refused to come. Mr. Whitlock, Mildemay and Sidney,<sup>b</sup> the trusty messengers vpon this embassie, prest it much to him to goe to the Parliament, whoe desired a conference with him, but he absolutely denyed to goe. Mr. Whitlock told him, when they sent for [him] agen, he should come. The members went out of doores and discharged the guards and retourned with an accounte to y<sup>e</sup> howse. One of the souldiers att parteinge said he wisht his kniffe in his belly. Last Wensday the howse sent 6 of their members to y<sup>e</sup> major and aldermen of y<sup>e</sup> citty to borrow mony; they refused; the members presst a necessity for it, therefore it must be had; they made then answeere they might by their power, if they pleased, take it, but they would send none. But the conformitant major<sup>c</sup> sommon[ed] a Common Councell last Fryday, where the buissines after a greate debate was caryed in the affirmatiue, that they would supply the present necessities of y<sup>e</sup> State, and this day they meete to conclude on the somme. . . .

1659.

*Unsigned and undated; endorsed by Nicholas, 27<sup>o</sup> Junij, 59, R. 22<sup>o</sup> Jul., Mr. W<sup>m</sup>. Miles.*

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"MR. MILES."

SIR,

. . . . Wee are here still clouded in a state mist; our present rullers daily fortifie themselves and begin to belieue that they

f. 435.

<sup>a</sup> Antoine de Bordeaux. His letters of credence were read 24 June, and White-locke, Sir Henry Mildmay, and Sir John Trevor were deputed to attend him to the House the next day (*C.J.* vii. p. 693). He did not, however, have audience until 22 Aug. (*ib.* p. 766).

<sup>b</sup> The letter dated 2 June and read in Parliament 9 June (*Clarke Papers*, iv. p. 16).

<sup>c</sup> Sir John Ireton, brother of Gen. Henry Ireton.

1659.

are built vpon a rock, since the armies att home, in Scotland and Ireland seeme to acknowledge them for theire masters. The Castle of Dublin is putt into the hands of S<sup>r</sup>. Hardresse Waller and the citty into the gouernment of Steele and Corbett, but yet that nation is much vnsettled and, if the reports of the best interressed there be not delusiue, that countrey must soone breake into a flame. Collonell Temple, whoe was here, Henry Crumwells late harbinger and scout, is posted hence very dissatisfied, and happily he may retard (if not wholly hinder) his highenes arriueall, whoe is doubtlesse deeply obnoxious to y<sup>e</sup> Rumpe, euen to the certaine hazard of his polletic noddle. Further its a generall talke with vs that Muncke is soe iust to y<sup>e</sup> army vnder his comaunde that he will not suffer his officers (after soe much testimony of theire fidelity and courage) to be reformed till theire arrears be fully satisfiued and materiall exceptions exhibited and iustified against them. 'Tis a reasonable and plausible demaunde, specially as to new and vsurpinge lords, that cannot haue (without their owne consents) any obligation vpon them. The very dispute will be here highe treason assoone as euer wee haue gain'd power to punish them. It will not be safe hereafter to belieue in those that be already soe much diseased with such presumptuous letters, and certainly Munck cannott expect from God a brauer opportunity to assert his former oathes and the duties he owes to the liberty of his countrey. This considered, with the generall discontents and pressurs att home and the probability (after a firme peace concluded twixt the neighbour princes) that they will be both willinge and able to disburden theire troublesome souldiers vpon vs, may be the reason that the Parliament is soe sollicitous to settle militias distinct from y<sup>e</sup> fromed (formed) army in all citties and townes, with vast powers conferred on them to judge of mens estates of all kindes and their affections and to force them by oates (oaths), distresses and imprissonment to arbitrary contributions, a practise of dangerous consequence as to the creation of jealousies both in the people and

army. Greater oppression this nation hath scarce knowen; vast sommes of mony by the like violent meanes must be levyed. Entire bodyes of Parliament were neuer heauyer then this goodly Rumpe. If the souldiery be not suddenly paied their arrears promised, its very probable they will attempt reforminge agen. In the very Howse there are parties and divisions. Sir Henry Vayne, whoe is the giddy heade of the confused sectaries, seemes to haue talked himselfe to jealousies and contempt in the howse. He is outvoted by the Presbiterian members and sometimes for noe other reason but he shall take notice that he is outvoted. When a jugglers fallacies are once discovered, there is nothinge more riddiculous then the juggler himselfe. 1659.

The Act of Indemnity is neere ripe; then doubtlesse many others somewhat obnoxious for their adherences to Oliuer will be much more free against y<sup>e</sup> impostors. Fines, Lile, Glynn, Phelipe Jones, Thurlow, Baxster, etc., are excepted and destyned in their persons or purses to the publique sacrifice. The people, to please them, shall haue circuits. If soe, there can be founde judges that haue the faculty to swallowe oates, as well as those haue donn that impose them. They must sweare to be true agen, faithfull and constant forsothe to the gouernment without one person (which to a tender conscience would be as nauseous as the popes Bull), Kings, or Howse of Lords. Newdigate,<sup>a</sup> Atkins<sup>b</sup> and Windham<sup>c</sup> buggle at them, and it may be for the same reasons as the brace of northerne judges, Widdrington<sup>d</sup> and Thorpe<sup>e</sup> doe disgest them, because they are rich and would not

<sup>a</sup> Richard Newdigate was given a seat on the Upper Bench 30 May, 1654, but was removed 1 May, 1655. He was reappointed before Mich. term, 1657, and was made President 17 Jan. 1660.

<sup>b</sup> Edward Atkyns, Baron of the Exchequer 28 Oct. 1645, Justice of the Common Pleas 19 Oct. 1649.

<sup>c</sup> Hugh Wyndham, Justice of Common Pleas 30 May, 1654.

<sup>d</sup> Thomas Widdrington, Speaker in the Parliament of 1658, Lord Chief Baron 26 June, 1658.

<sup>e</sup> Francis Thorpe, Baron of the Exchequer 1 June, 1649.

1659. be impouerisht by them. Indeede, the latter knowe howe to thriue by them; the other three seeme to be as honest as badd tymes will admitt them. Here will not want those that will build themselves on crimes, and shall serue the state with their tongues and soules too att pleaseinge rates. Thus wee are on land, and prepareinge for the seas too. Marriners must be impressed and shippes are fitted for the security of the Narrowe Seas, least the Stewards finde a bridge ouer and take a surer possession here then the Rumpe pretend to. The rookes smell powder and talke much of searches and secureinge, but God alone can giue vs security, and I pray he may vouchsafe it to that partie hath the best right to the nation; and to this praier the populous (eyther tyred with badd masters or out of their humore to new) seeme generally disposed to say amen. Sir,

Your euer faithfull poore servant,

W. G.

*Endorsed by Nicholas, 1<sup>o</sup> Julij, 1659, R. 6<sup>o</sup>, Mr. Milles.*

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SIR E. NICHOLAS TO "MR. MILES".

LOVING FRIEND MR. MILLES,

Bruxelles,  $\frac{2}{12}$  Julij, 1659.

f. 436.

. . . . I am much obliged to you for your care of my sute, whereof I hope now the terme is ended to heare of the good successe it hath had. Your kinsman hath bene with me seuerall tymes and I should be glad to serue him in anything in my power, finding him a very discrete and able gentleman. I heare he intends to goe for France to perfect himselfe in the French tongue. Your fellow traveller hath been with me; he hath not here received the satisfaccion he expected and is returned somewhat discontented. He hath now faithfully promised me to deliuer you the papers I desired him long since to give you, whereby you will be informed more particularly in the busines concerning the small purchase I am wished to make. I pray let me know whether he hath bene as good as his word. Wee have

little newes here but that the peace between France and Spain goes on without any interrupcion. Wee are dayly in expectation of newes from the Sound or the northerne partes, where the States 2 fleetes are ioyned, being about 90 sayle, and they lye within sight of the Sweedes and English fleete, soe as some thinke they will shortly fight, if the treaty of peace between those northern Kings be not speedily brought to a conclusion. I am glad to heare that Hen. Cromwell followes his brothers submissive example. Mr. Lockart is gone post after the Cardinall to the interview on the frontiers of Spain. I heare Lieut. Col. Dolman, an able soldier and hartily affected to a Republican Government, is lately (vpon invitacion from some of the Councill of State) gone for England; its said he is to have some command in the army in England, or else be sent into Holland<sup>a</sup> as Agent for the Parliamēt. I hope your next will bring the desired newes of a happy settlement of y<sup>e</sup> Government in England, which would be most welcome to vs merchants. . . .

1659.

*Draft, unsigned, partly in shorthand; endorsed by Nicholas, 22 July, 1659. Copy of myne to Mr. Myles, sent by Pe[rcy] Ch[urch].*

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"MR. MILES."

DEERE SIR,

The buissines of our masters here is to establishe themselves and pretensiuely to secure the nation by the pen and sword, by the Act of Endemnity and militias; both are in a forwardnes. The first is like to meete with litle, the second with much opposition; for the newe militia seeme, and will be, a deffence against the enemy, and most certayne it is that it will be too an offence to theire freinds. The officers of the army, whoe know not how to be subiects longe, begin to smell and snuffe att the designe of the Rump. Somme printed papers haue awakened there

f. 437.

<sup>a</sup> A pass for him to cross to Holland was given 24 Aug. 1659 (*Cal. St. Pap.* p. 566).

1659. jealousies, and this very afternoone many considerable officers of the army assemble att Westminster to debate the consequence of the militia and to approue or<sup>3</sup> disproue of the comissioners therein. You may be sure this kinde of Tryers cannot pallat the Parliament, that hath already by public act nominated the individualls, and cannot in honor or safety suffer themselves to be controlled by their subiects; and should this contention of officers euen in Westminster be by some countenance of the Councell of State, you will soone imagine that 'tis vpon a forced butt, nor will it be easie to stint and<sup>4</sup>lymitt their debates. Such as doe suite with the interest of<sup>5</sup>the army are very improper for the seruices of the Parliament. The Rumpe is nowe vnder a greate dilemma. If they attempt to fall on the militia, they may feare the army will route them; if they doe not, other enemyes may, and likely they expect better quarter from their freinds then their foes. How they will hold or quitte this wolfe, a short tyme must discouer to vs; I feare much, if they finde noe sudden disturbance, our new masters will put off their sheepes cloathing and appere very rauinous wolves. The militia of London is vpon the stocks and, if it come abroade, the cittizens will be soone in them. I see litle murmuringe against it, soe longe the beast hath bin vsed to beare burdens. The Cauces are now to be traytord agen and like to be the subiect of their cruellty and guilty only by the Howse vote. Henry Crumwell vpon his submission and discouery will be pardoned and suffered to retire himselfe into one of his brothers sleeues, or some such ignominious refuge. Sidney and the rest designed for the Zounde began their journey last Munday, but to what purpose I knowe not. Munck seemes to be more in quiett then obedience. Hee is too greate and too farr to be speedily refined. Ludlow<sup>a</sup> is suddenly for Ireland and trusted with the chieffe military comaunde there. If the tradition be true that noe venem-

<sup>a</sup> He was made commander-in-chief, as Lieut.-General, in Ireland 4 July, landed there at the end of the month, and returned to England in October.

1659.

ous beast can live there, his reigne will not be longe in that clymate. It hath bin much feared this 2 or 3 daies the howse would haue bin dissolved by the Redd Coates. Last night they mutyned; theire officers with much difficulty appeased them vpon their promisses to haue counsell of the lesser officers and somme of the souldiers this day, for they had resolved to route them this morn. Most doe belieue they haue but a shorte tyme to live. Sir, I pray excuse haste. I delayed my time, expecting a good accounte of your owne buissines. I hope by the next to be better prouided in that particular. In the interim I humbly leaue the inclosed to your disposall; it came iust nowe to my hands. Sir, I hope shortly to giue you personall assurance that I am, Sir,

Your euer constant true servant,

W. GREENE.

8<sup>th</sup> July, 59.

Sir, the inclosed papers were 2 or 3 daies since posted in seuerall public places and dispersed; somme belieue it proceedes out of malice, others a designe by his enemy. What to make of it I knowe not as yet. I leaue it to y<sup>e</sup> consideracion of more knoweing men. The reason I giue you the trouble of it [is] to let you see y<sup>e</sup> confusion and disorder here.

*Endorsed by Nicholas, Mr. Milles send[s] y<sup>e</sup> copy of y<sup>e</sup> paper concerning Sir R. Willis.*

*Enclosure:—*

Theise are to advertize all loyall harts whome theise may concerne that Sir Rich. Willis,<sup>a</sup> knight, is a traytor and false to the trust his King and Master puteth in him, haueing of late beene

f. 439.

<sup>a</sup> He was a member of the "Sealed Knot," but sold himself to Thurloe as early as the summer of 1656. See Firth, *Last Years of the Protectorate*, i. p. 29. He betrayed Ormond's presence in England at the beginning of 1658 (above, p. 33). "The King is fully satisfied that Sir Richard Willis (who was particularly entrusted by him) has long been false" (Nicholas to Johnson, 1<sup>st</sup> Oct. 1659, *Cal. St. Pap.* p. 248).

1659. severall tymes followed to diuerse places, to a tauerne in Shoemakers Row, the Indyman tauerne, and sundry other holes, wheare he hath mett with Mr. Secritary Thurloe and his creatures to discouer the secrets weare comitted to him and, when tyme would not permitt a randevouse, he hath sent letters to the above named, as hath beene confessed by one Dauby, a porter, his owne confesion.

Published by order.<sup>a</sup>

June 3<sup>d</sup>.

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“MR. MILES.”

SIR,

15 July, 59.

- f. 443. Since the last wee see two acts public, an Indemnity<sup>b</sup> to all that haue acted since 53 vpon the public accounte, that is, a pardon for one another, and another Act of Banishment of Jesuits and such as were not capable of the former oblivion, with 10<sup>li</sup>. reward euen to euery Reddcoate or other as shall apprehend in the nation any impardonable delinquent after y<sup>e</sup> 1 of August next for the highe treason of residence in England. The Act came out this morneinge, and it will be treason for any such to be taken within 20<sup>ty</sup>. miles of this place to morowe morneing, soe sudden is y<sup>e</sup> cryme and avoydance of it.

The present buisenes of y<sup>e</sup> howse, that sitts euen afternoones, is the militia of the nation, which with all post haste they labour to settle. The Comissioners for y<sup>e</sup> militia in London meete frequently to posture this citty, and many allaroms of preparation to act against the state in y<sup>e</sup> west are giuen to y<sup>e</sup> Howse, and haply hasten their militias there. The souldiery is rather

<sup>a</sup> In a letter from G. Paul to Charles II. in 1663 the writer in enumerating his services declares, “How it was I discovered Barrett to be Sir Richard Willis; how it was I ran the dainger of poasting him, which I did with my owne hands, unknowne to him till it was done” (*Clarke Papers*, iv. p. 304).

<sup>b</sup> Firth and Rait, *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum*, ii. p. 1299, dated 12 July. The Act against Delinquents (*ib.* p. 1304) is dated 13 July.

obedient then pleased. Monyes are not easily founde. There is a report that this citty is soe bould as to designe a petticion to the Howse for the callinge in of the members secluded in 48. Mr. Prynn is still imployeing the presse, and is loath that the nation should owne the vnsauory Rump. The plebeans are sencyble of the grieuance of taxes and incloseurs, which they say they felt not in the daies of Royalty, and haue regret against the souldiers, but knowe not howe to vnhorse them. If tyme be not past, it must be now or neuer, vnlesse forraigne power encourad[g]e and support the inland dispositions. 1659.

Here is noe noyce of Scotland or Ireland, nor much talke of the nauy. Some say the Sweade is well beaten by the Dane and Dutch; yet the Dane is much vnsatisfyed with the Dutch, as aperes by letters from y<sup>e</sup> Daines agent in Holland to his fellowe labourer here, yet some belieues it a blinde and designe. They are still full of feares here, but their fortifications goe on forward and their enemies dayly weakened. I knowe not howe longe I shall contynue in towne. If I goe, I shall giue once more the troble of a paper, Sir,

from your most faithfull humble servant,

W. HUGHES.

Fryday, 10 att night,

15<sup>th</sup> July, 59.

*Endorsed by Nicholas, Mr. Milles.*

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"MR. MILES."

DEERE SIR,

I most thankfully acknowledge your greate fauour of the 19<sup>th</sup> instant, your stile. I confesse you haue much reason to wishe an end of that tedious suite that exposed you to soe much troble and expense. I haue since spoaken with some of your Counsell. They are still of oppinion the plaintiffs will bringe itt to tryall this next assise; but by reason of your antagonists beinge nowe intrusted with y<sup>e</sup> manageinge of y<sup>e</sup> States seruices in that

f. 445.

1659. country, a comissioner for this new militia and principally im-  
ployed for the settlinge of the affaires there, which renders him  
far more considerable in his power and interest (and consequently  
yours much more weakened), they doubt it will be some dis-  
advantage and preiudice vnto you. I wishe from my soule you  
had not neglected former opportunities of doeinge yourselfe right  
by composeinge those differences, when soe fairely offered.  
Howeuer, I presume most of the gentlemen there well vnder-  
stand your iust clayme and cleere title to that estate, and, I  
doubt not, many of them persons of honour and couradge, not to  
be frighted to act contrary to their conscience. I shall not be  
wantinge to my weake endeaouour to doe you all the seruices I  
cann to procure you a faire and a legall tryall. What civillities  
the sheriffe can affoorde vs I dare assure you off. I am very glad  
if my kinsman did anythinge to meritt your fauour and charit-  
able oppinion and that he is gone well satisfied. I hope his  
stay there will not be longe; his friends here wishes his speedy  
retourne.

Ludlowe went last Munday for Ireland comaunder in chieffe  
of the land forces. Here is noe newes from y<sup>e</sup> Zounde nor from  
Munck. I heard it credibly affirmed from knoweing men that  
our Englishe seamen haue much lost their reputation and their  
courage; their hearts are downe; they appere not the same  
men, eyther abroad or at home. The militias are euery where  
neere an establishment, as farr as to the authority of acts and  
nominacion of comissioners, and in few places in somme measure  
they haue bin putt in execution by muster of horse and foote,  
but will require time to forme them compleatly and vniuersally.  
This citty is sicke of its new militia and as litle able to cure it  
selfe. If they proue once theyre owne phisitions, the Howse  
will be the patient. Doubtlesse the country too looke vpon this  
new plantation of an army as the swallow in the fable did vpon  
the sowing of hemp seede, which att first by the birds was  
easily deuorable but, if suffered to growe, it would produce netts

to catch and destroy all that caryed wings. About Enfield Chase the countrey people rise vpp against the invasion of their commons by the souldiers, that by authority of Parliament haue cantond the chase and debarred the commonners of their rights and hereditary pasturage, a greeueance they were strangers to in y<sup>e</sup> daies of monarchy, and therefore they soe publicly expresse their desire of the retourne of it. At the first the souldiers killed 2 countrey men, but the countrey men became masters of the fildes and tooke 9 of the men of warr prisonners and brought [them] before a justice, whoe comitted the 9 souldiers to Newgate. Since the countrey men killed 20<sup>ty</sup>. or 30<sup>ty</sup>. of the souldiers they contynew and encrease dayly. This weeke the Sheriff of Middlesex with y<sup>e</sup> Posse and some troopes of horse was sent, not only to scatter them but to preuent worse sequells. Att y<sup>e</sup> present the countrey men did forebeare, but will not desist from their leuelling purposes. If reports be true that y<sup>e</sup> forresters and fen men be in the same posture, this countrey bumpkins may soone proue more formidable then Jack Cade at Mile-end or the poore fisherman at Naples. Euer nere pressure and discontents are generall to the greate troble and disquiett of the new thinn Rump. Feares and jealousies, which were polices heretofore, are now a malady. The vigilant members doe allarme themselves and haue secured here and in some countreys certaine persones, whome they can only charge with suspicion but noe reall guilt. If they apprehend themselves concerned, they will not be shy of imprissoning men *pro arbitrio*, tho lately in their fellowe Dicks Parliament they cryed itt destructiue to Magna Charta and the liberties of the people. Their Judges are sent abroade to tell the countrey how necessary for their safety taxes are. Monethly contributions, exise and arbitrary impositions by the Comissioners for the y<sup>e</sup> militia are too heauy weights for the people to be fond of. A prissoner that hath irons will as soone belieue they are putt vpon him for his better goeing. Mens eyes and purses too are fully opened; how they should be

1659. deluded further or the taskmasters sattisfied is not easily seene. The citty is not now forward to contribute soe much as thymbles and bodkins. Its generally reported the nation is apt to take flame, which would be very offensiue if the gentrie be interested in them. This morneing there was a very seuer search; many loagers and the landlords were caryed away. God keepe vs from trobles, or order them to a good issue, which shall be the constant wishes and prayers of, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

W. TIRRELL.

Fryday, 9 att night,  
22<sup>th</sup> July, 59.

*Hast or wee are vndu[n].*

*Endorsed by Nicholas, R. 6<sup>o</sup> Aug. st. no., Mr. Miles.*

## CHARLES II. TO THE DUKE OF YORK.

BROTHER,

f. 447.

Though I hope after it shalbe knowne that you and I are in England we shall easily finde a way of correspondence and communicating together, yet since we may for some time be re-strayned from that and persons of all kindes may apply themselues to you to serve me, I thinke it necessary to tell you some Rules I haue prescribed myself, which wilbe y<sup>e</sup> best direcciions for you.

I shall endeavour to draw all persons whatsoever to serve me, and to that purpose in my Declaracion, which wilbe published at y<sup>e</sup> time I appeare, I offer a pardon to all men except only those who sate actually upon y<sup>e</sup> murder of our Father and voted for it; so that, whoever shall apply himselfe to you that is not of that number, you may freely promise him my pardon, which I will make good.

Whateuer rewards you shall thinke necessary to promise to any man who shall do signall service, I will make good; and I

doubt not but all men where you come will obey you and assure themselves of what you promise them as if I were present my selfe.

1659.

If any excepted person shall make offer to you of doing a very extraordinary service (which I do not expect that any of them will or can do), you may appoint some discreet person to treat with him, who may promise him that after he hath performed that service he shall not be prosecuted by me, but shall have a time allowed to convey away his estate, which shall not be seized by me, so that he withdraw out of my Dominions, where he will neuer desire to live.

I require all persons to give you entire obedience to all things which may advance my service.

*Endorsed by Nicholas, July, 1659. Copy of the Kings letter to the D. of Yorke vpon their going severall wayes for England.*

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SIR E. NICHOLAS TO E. MASSEY.

SIR,

Bruxelles, Friday, 1<sup>o</sup> Aug. 1659.

Yours of the 23<sup>th</sup> of June came not to my handes till the 29<sup>th</sup> of the last month, when I received it with severall letters to the King and to my Lord Chancellor and have read to his Matie what you write to me, who is abundantly pleased with your extraordinary dilligence and paynes in what concernes his service. When Mr. Titus was here he brought a great assurance of Mr. Popams readines to serve his Matie very considerably, and therevpon and vpon the like assureances from others his Matie was reddey to have made hast for England had he not bene staid by an expresse from there till further advises, which he expects hourly, from those with whom his Matie hath entrusted his affaires. I have acquainted his Matie with what you have written concerning the good affections, great paynes and dilligence of Mr. Veale, Mr. Clayton, Mr. Pile, Mr. Blanchard, and

f. 448.

1659. Dr. Feilding, and his Matie hath commanded me to desire you to let them all know that his Matie is very sensible of their merritts and wilbe reddey to acknowledge the same on any good occasion when it shall please God to enable him. I perceive by your letters that if the business of Bristoll and Gloucester faylle it will be through the default of Mr. Popham and Mr. How; but I hope they will find it necessary both for their owne safety and interest to engage hartily for the King's interest if there shalbe any attempt or rising for him in those partes, and if the militia shalbe established in all partes of England with such powers as are given by the Act passed for the Militia of London, it will not only be the ruyne of the present standing army but render the nation absolutely slaves to the vsurpers at Westminster. Wee have had noe newes a long tyme from the Sound, but expect now every day to heare of some notable accion from those northern partes, for the King of Denmarke will not treat of any peace with Sweden without the consent of the Allies. . . .

*Draft, partly in shorthand; endorsed by Nicholas, 1 Aug. 1659. Coppy of myne to Mr. Minden.*

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"MR. MILES."

SIR,

August 8<sup>th</sup>, 1659.

f. 449.

The inquisition of this place would not allow the freedome of persons or letters; neither an hoste can secure a horse nor a landlord a lodger. Noe man can with safety stay nor remoue hence to any protection. I haue bin this 10 or 12 daies necessitated to a very obscure condition, which rann me soe farr in arreare with my good friend Mr. Edwards<sup>a</sup>; howeuer, I haue ventured this day to towne to deliuer my thoughts to you, but cannot without somme inconveniency come to your sollicitour

<sup>a</sup> Pseudonym for Sir Edward Nicholas.

or haue the benefitt of your letters and papers att present, yet very secure.

1659.

Most of the old formed army are withdrawn hence for West-Chester vnder the comaunde of Lambert and to the west vnder Desborough. The licenc'd pamphletts speake Sir George Booth<sup>a</sup> neere 5000 stronge in Cheshire, Lancashire and North Wales. Sir Thomas Middleton<sup>b</sup> att Wrexham, a towne 8 miles off Chester, proclaymed the Kinge, and Cherk Castle, his cheiffe residence, is now garison'd for the King; tho the others [are] declaretory for the freedome of Parliaments as to the settlement of sacrett and civill rights and are zealously consecrated to the quarell by the Presbyterian Pulpiteers in those partes, which causeth them to be stiled here Bellum Presbiterale. Two troopes of the militia in Cheshire and Lancashire vnder the commaunde of Coll. Ireland and Brookes<sup>c</sup> are gonn in to Booth. Lambert hath vnder-taken the expedicion against Booth, and with a trayne of artillery from Winsor Castle and neere 4000 horse and foote is now vpon his aduance that way. His expressions against the Cauees and Presbiters are soe insolently and odiously highe that I wishe they were as publique and (*sic*, as) the Diurnalls; they would be more serviceable then a Declaracion. Hee sweares (by his God) that hee will perishe or not allowe life to any gentleman

<sup>a</sup>2nd Bart., member of the Long Parliament, 1645, and of Cromwell's Parliaments of 1654 and 1656, and "a person of the best fortune and interest in Cheshire, and for the memory of his grandfather of absolute power with the Presbyterians" (Clarendon, *History*, ed. 1849, ii. p. 127). His rising at first met with some success and he secured Chester, but he was defeated by Lambert at Nantwich. Failing in an attempt to escape in woman's clothes he was sent to the Tower, but was released on bail 9 Dec. He was one of twelve members selected by the Convention Parliament 7 May, 1660, to convey to Charles II. their answer to his Declaration, and was created Lord Delamere 20 April, 1661.

<sup>b</sup> After defeating Booth, Lambert besieged Sir T. Myddelton in Chirk Castle and forced him to surrender, 24 Aug.

<sup>c</sup> Peter Brooke or Brookes, member for Newton in Makerfield, co. Lanc., 26 March, 1646. He was brought to the Bar, disabled from sitting, and committed to the Tower, 13 Sept. (*Commons Journals*, vii. p. 778).

1659. engaged, or aboue 200<sup>li</sup>. per annum to any of that party or per-swation surviueinge. And the Rumpe is now vpon formeinge a law that the tenants relateinge to any in present armes against the State and [who] shall oppose their landlords shall enioy their leases in fee, the chieffe rents beinge made payeable to the State, a president dangerous to all estated gentlemen and shewes vs their purposes to assure y<sup>e</sup> clowne by estates and dependences on themselves, to ruine the gentrie, to enrich themselves. Our masters, to please the highe shooes and ruder sectaries lately in the howse, endeauored to abolishe tithes, but now they conceiue they shall not endeare them enough till they robb the gentry of their rents alsoe. The common soldiers, tho encouradged with free quarter and plunder, shew litle alacrity to the seruice. Husons<sup>a</sup> owne regiment on Saterdag last refused to march against Sir George, that professed himselfe for the freedome of Parliaments and the souldiers arrears, till good language and a more preualent orator and present pay perswaded them thereto. In most countries the chieffe with their apparant armes and horses are secured. I belieue this citty hath 1500 old souldiers in it and all the appurtenances. The guard of the citty is vnder the new militia men saue the Tower and Poules. Were this place affected for religion, lawes or trade as their obligation requires, howe soon might they make reparation for y<sup>e</sup> age of horrid cryme they are tainted with. They blame the countries and the countries recryminate them. If there appere not somme sudden aduenture (which is very probable), all wilbe in hazard.

Massie with his servant alone in his retirement in Gloucestershire was by some trechery surprised to the losse of pockett, papers, his gould, his perewick, and his painte; and by the fauour of the night, the woods, and a forced fall of his horse he

<sup>a</sup> Col. John Hewson, regicide, knighted by Cromwell and made one of his peers Dec. 1657. He was appointed commander-in-chief of the foot in Ireland 8 July, 1659 (*Cal. St. Pap.* p. 13).

escaped from the trooper that ridd behinde him and fwe more, and is now incognito agen.<sup>a</sup> The deliuerance seemes to promise that he is designed for a more glorious fall, which doubtlesse he will fairely attempt, if his confederates do not shamefully desert him. The Lord Fairefax and his sonn in law are newly come to towne, but all malladies and goutes vnleft behynde at Bathe. Popham after his Epsham waters and the discoueries of much armes in his countrey howse is indisposed here too, wheither vnder any civill restraint I knowe not. Not any one lord of the nation is yet visible, vnlesse younge Darby,<sup>b</sup> whoe nowe weighes much lesse then his name formerly hath donn. Here is a report that there are some bodies of horse gathered together in Worcestershire, Sheroppshire and Cronewall; the certaynety of this I cannott as yet affirme. Here is litle newes from the Zounde. Mountague, a late professed enemy to a Republique [has] his regiment disposed to Aldred, and his nauall commaunde to Goodson. Munck hath sent some companies to Newcastle and Carlile, and yet he is not vnderstood here; he calls for some regiments hence for his necessary secureinge of Scotland, and somme impute more honesty and prudence to him then haply is due. It is not vnderstood here yet wheither Ludlowe be passed ouer to his Irisshe generalshipp. His restlesse spiritt, if he haue elbow roome, will soone report where he is. Sir, this is our weather here; weither the litle clowde will ouerspreade our iseland or noe I am not able to diuine. I wish a serenity may followe it, as is sutable to y<sup>e</sup> true old cause and your owne health and desires. Sir, I am much more att your seruice then myne owne liberty.

THO. HILL.

I pray present my most humble seruices to Mr. Macklin [Sir E. Hyde]; his friend with whome he commerced here is vnder restraint, and Mr. John Clarke comitted to the Towre. There are

<sup>a</sup> See an account of his escape in Whitelocke's *Memorials*, p. 681.

<sup>b</sup> Charles Stanley, 6th Earl of Derby, succ. 15 Oct. 1651.

1659. many younge men taken goeing out of towne and others in towne, one Breams, Marckham, Smith, Penredock, Souethcott Sauadge, Edgeworth, etc., but fewe considerable men vnder restraint here. I cannott giue you any certaine accounte of your buissines in tryall this assizes, which is kept this weeke, but I haue stronge hopes of a good issue and to be able next post to giue you better assureances, if I stay soe long; but whereuer I am you may be confident not idle to your concernes. Pray pardon this hasty rudenes.

*Endorsed by Nicholas, 1<sup>st</sup> Aug. 1659, R. 1<sup>st</sup>, Mr. Milles.*

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CHARLES II. TO HIS FRIENDS IN ENGLAND.

- f. 450. Wee are so well satisfied in the account you haue giuen us of the temper and disposition of those friends with whome you haue conuersed, and with your assurance that they are without ether malice to our person or auersyon to Monarchicall Gouverment, if ther ciuill and spirituall libertyes may be provided for, that wee are very willinge you should in our name giue them this assurance and satisfaction untill wee can ourselfe seasonably publish such a Declaracion, and wee doubt not will giue all our subiects ample informacion how much ther owne happynesse lyes, with the blessinge of God, in ther owne power; that wee intende nothinge more then to gouerne by the knowne lawes of the lande, and to improoue those laws for the good of our people by and with the aduice of free and frequent Parliaments; that wee exspecte nothinge from our subiects but what is, or shall be, dew to us by the law, and that they shall alwayes inioy what is dew to them by law, without beinge oppressed by any military power whatsoeuer; that wee are firmly resolved to giue all protection and ease to tender consciences and to do all that is in our power that such lawes as seeme to offer vyolence to those consciences may be repealed and such a freedome setled that they, doinge

the duties of good cittizens and good subiects, may receaue no disturbance for not thinkinge as other men doe, and this they may promise to themselues with all confidence from us, and shall in the meane tyme receaue any assurance from us for the performance of this our promise which wee can giue or they reasonably desyre. Giuen at our Court at Bruxelles, the 12<sup>th</sup> of August, 1659, in y<sup>e</sup> Eleventh yeare of our Raigne.

1659.

*In Hyde's hand, but dated by John Nicholas; endorsed, King's letter to friends in England.*

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MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.

Rochell, 22 Sep. 1659.

f. 454.

Since wee receiued assurance of the ill successe of our friends in England wee haue had litle rest till wee came hether and as litle minde to write if wee had found an easy and saf way of conueying our leters; for you were aquainted before wee left you with the cours that would bee taken in the case as it is fallen out, and till wee come to the end of our jurny litle is to bee sayd by us nor can wee hope to receiue any thing from you nor of our correspondents any where haueing any directions where to send to us. Whether *the King*<sup>a</sup> will from this place *pass* by sea or land depends now upon the winde; if that *prooue faire in any reasonable time, he is resolved on that way, but he will stay but a few days for it.* Whateuer way hee takes, I am commanded to go to Card. Mazarin from him with a complement proper for the occasion; to this hee was encouraged by the aduice of Sir George Carteret. I confesse I can see no hurt in it, and should hope for much good, if a proper and acceptable person had byn sent, but you know what choys there was. The

<sup>a</sup> Charles had left Brussels for Calais about 1 Aug. to wait for a vessel to take him to England, but on hearing of the failure of Booth's rising he hurried south to Toulouse and Saragossa and thence to Fontarabia. Ormonde, Bristol, Daniel O'Neill and others accompanied him. Baker's *Chronicle*, with cont. to 1660, ed. 1730, pp. 572-5.

1659. attempt will not be made till y<sup>e</sup> King of England bee out of reach. If wee succede in the present applications so as to obtaine what is aimed at *before the rebels can* proceede farr in the settlement of their Commonwealth and profited themselves of confiscations, our stay from you will not be long; other wyse it will bee vn-certaine, but you will receiue more probable information when wee are on the other side of the frontier. In the meanetime it is desired that Toby Rustat<sup>a</sup> bee sent with all dilligence post away with such things as you will finde in the adioynd note of instructions.

*Unsigned; endorsed by Nicholas, Lord Lieut. of Ireland.*

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MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.

GOOD MR. SECRETARY,

Tolose, 12 Octo. 1659.

- f. 456. My last to you from Rochell I desired might serue you and my Lord Chauncellor, and nowe I must refferre you to him for the litle I am able to say from hence, where I liue in a retirednesse more suteable to my fortune then wholesome for my spleene; yet, I thanke God, I am in perfect health, and so was my master when hee went hence on the 7<sup>th</sup> of this month and had neuer bin indisposd in all his jurny vnlesse once a litle with eating so much fruit, though hee would not acknowledge it. Wee wanderers haue the diuertisment of seeing new places to refresh the melancholy of our spirits, and wee are not subiect to the complaints and sight of our friends in misery; but when wee come to gather all you haue writ,<sup>b</sup> wee shall haue it all at once with the greater weight.

Our master, I assure you, spoke with much kindnesse of you

<sup>a</sup> Tobias Rustat, servant to Charles II. when Prince of Wales and appointed yeoman of the robes 12 Jan. 1658 (Eg. 2542, f. 259). See Hyde to Ormonde, *Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 581.

<sup>b</sup> See Hyde to Ormonde, 11 Oct. 1659, *Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 678.

when your leter gaue mee the occasion to mention you to him,  
which was as pleasing to mee as it will bee to you, for I am with  
much reallity, good Mr. Secretary,

Your most faithfull humble seruant,

O.

1659.

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LORD COLEPEPER.

SIR,

Fontarabie, Wednesday, 22 October, 1659.

The post parteth not hence till Saterdag, but I write now provisionally, being tomorrow to goe to meet the King seaven leagues hence, and not like to returne soone enough to write by the post. Mr. Oneale left him vppon Friday last at Saragoça in Navarre, 45 leagus hence, resolved to stay there till he should heare from hence, whither the conference<sup>a</sup> were ended or not, that, if it were, he might continue on his journey to Madrid, whereby six dayes of pretious time are lost. Immediately vppon Oneales arrivall here (vppon Munday after dinner) with a letter from the King to Don Louis and his answer that his Catholick Maty had commanded him to receaue him as himself, Colonell Dungen<sup>b</sup> was dispatched to the King with advice thereof, and that the conference was not like to end before the end of this month at the soonest, desiring his Maty to make all possible hast hither; and we conceave Col. Dungen will be with him this day at noone, and hope the King will this day begin his journey towards this place to be here vppon Saterdag. The raisons of the Kings long stay on the way were these. He came to Rochell (but why he went thither I am not able to tell you) the 22 of September, and the hopes of going thence to St. Sebastians by

f. 457.

<sup>a</sup> The conference between Mazarin and the Spanish prime minister, Don Luis Mendez de Haro, held on the Isle of Pheasants in the Bidassoa and resulting in the Peace of the Pyrenees.

<sup>b</sup> "Mr. William Dungan, an Irish gentleman" (Baker's *Chronicle*, 1730, p. 575). He was created Viscount Dungan and Earl of Limerick, 2 Jan. 1685.

1659. sea (a strange designe in this saison) fixt him there eight dayes. Thence he came towards Bourdeaux, where Oneale being sent before heard (as it was then beleaved by all in the French Court) that the conference was at an end, and that the Cardinall would within a few dayes be with the King of France at Tholouse, which vnhappy errour made the King thinke noe more of this way, but steer his course thorough Languedock (sending my Lord Ormond to Tholouse) to the farthest part of Navarre, as the safest entrance into Spaine and not much the ferthest way to Madrid. The same report that the conference was ended continued all the way they went till they came neare the frontier, where they found it contradicted (thogh only by the authority of common passagers), which inclined the King to bend his course this way thorough the hithermost parts of Navarre. But Lord Bristolls opinion, grounded vppon the vncertainty of those reports and the greater vncertainty how longe the conference would continue, if it were not then ended, prevayled with him (as Oneale saith) rather to continue on the way of Madrid vntill they came to Saragoça, where, the Deputy Viceroy assuring them that the conference was not ended nor like to end till the Cardinall had receaued an answer from Marishall Grammonde, they halted, dispatching Oneale hither. My Lord Ormonds buisnis at Tholouse was to excuse the Kings passing thorough France incognito, with other instructions *to the Cardinal to soften and incline him to be a freind to the Kings busines*, and to that purpose *Lo. Jermyn* was sent to by *the King* to meet him from *the Queene* at Tholouse, whither he began his jorny the fift of this month; but none of vs here have ever heard one word from either of them since that time and why they continue at Tholouse, the Cardinall being at St. Jan De Luz, wee cannot imagin. Yesterday *Lord Culpeper* wrote to them both by a quick passage, earnestly desiring them to come presently with all possible speed to St. Jan De Luz and promising them immediately vppon notice of their or either of their arrivall there to come thither to confer

1659.

with them; but whither his letter will finde them or, if it doe, whither they will come soone enough to St. Jan De Luz, is very doutefull to me. In one word, the whole buisines dependeth vppon the Cardinal his inclinations, to the preparing the which we haue as yet don just nothing and the time to do it in is so short that I am very apprehensive of the *successe*. Spaine neither will nor can help us exept France joyne in the worke, which it never will do untill Mazarin be fully satisfied, and that as well in his hopes as in his feares. The Cardinall presseth very much to end the conference as soone as he shall heare from Marishall Grammond, which is expected now every day, and then after one conference more it is beleaved those two great ministers will part; but, if y<sup>e</sup> Cardinal were presently and handsomely applyed to, he might prolong the conference as long as well. And if y<sup>e</sup> Cardinal could be gained, there would be no doubt of Don Lewis his concurring, which is all I can as yet say to this buisines. Lord Culpeper hath desired me to tell you that vppon Saturday last he receaued your letter of the 4 of this month, which is the second he hath receaued from you, and this is the first I have wrott to you since I left Paris. But since that time I have wrott three letters to Lord Chancellor, the one from Bordeaux, the second from Bayonne and the third from hence vppon Saterdag last; but I have had but one from him since I saw him. I mention these letters thus particularly, because I much suspect the two latter to him have fallen into other hands, which danger (if you doe not change the addresses) all yours to vs will run; thogh perhaps they will deale soe kindly with vs as after they have red and copyed your letters to send them forwards, the only favour I aske of them, if this happen to fall into the same hands. Whither y<sup>e</sup> King is to go to Madrid or not I cannot as yet make any conjecture, much lesse can I tell you what Lord Culpeper is to do. Only in my opinion his proper station for the present is with Lord Lieut. and Lord Jermyn at St. Jan De Luz and to serve to convey their sence hither and

1659. *y<sup>e</sup> King his sence to them*, as there shall be occasion, an imployment not much to be envied in my opinion. I have nothing more to say to *Lord Chanc<sup>r</sup>* then he will find in this letter, if you please to shew it him, which is my excuse for not writing to him; only I see wee cary our lowsy fate with vs wheresoever wee goe, wee all of us (except one) being as beggars here as wee were at Brussells, and I in particular being in Spaine in an owld thred-bar French suite for wante of money to make me a new Spanish one. This is litterally trew, which makes me seldome appeare at the Court.

*Unsigned.*

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LORD COLEPEPER.

Andaya, 23 October (fower after dinner).

- f. 459. Yesterday, immediately after I had finished the inclosed, *Lo. of Ormond* advertized me of his arrivall at St. Jan De Luz, and his intention to endeavour to deliver privately (for he is still in his disguise) to *y<sup>e</sup> Cardinal* what he had in charge from *the King*, and of his desire to confer with vs here this morning; where wee mett accordingly. But he could not find an opportunity the last night to speake with *the Cardinal, Mons<sup>r</sup>. de Souvere*<sup>a</sup> (to whome he was addressed by *y<sup>e</sup> King*) being in other company. This day he hath spoken with him here, but I find it very doutefull whither *Lo. Lieutenant* will be admitted to speake with *y<sup>e</sup> Cardinal* or not, of which you may have more an hour hence, when wee expect a messinger from St. Jan Da Luz with a letter from the person employed in that buisines.

Seaven the same night.

<sup>a</sup> Jacques de Souvré or Souvray, knight-commander of Malta, a confidant of Mazarin. See Mazarin's *Lettres*, ix. 1906, p. 356. He is the "commandeur" mentioned below, p. 188.

The answer is come in the negatiff, but sweetened with many good words, which (if made good) are worth three affirmatifs.

1659.

Tomorrow we all goe to meet the King seaven leagues hence.

*Unsigned; endorsed, Lo. Culpeper of y<sup>e</sup> 22<sup>th</sup> October \* from Fontaraby. Received November 18<sup>th</sup>, 1659.*

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MARQUIS OF ORMONDE.

GOD MR. SECRETARY,

Fontrauie, 3 No. 1659.

I am not now able so much as to tell you how many of yours I have, much lesse to make any kinde of answer to any of the particulars; all I could doe was to decypher with my owne hand yours of the 18 receiued late last night and to acquaint the King with the contents, who is exceedingly satisfied with your conduct in the mater and with the good intention of those that set it on foote. But by all the discours hee hath had with the person that went with it to Breda hee cannot iudge that there is foundation enough for him to build any iudgement vpon or to giue any other direction in it then that, if it bee renued or continued, so that hee may bee sure the ouerture is authentick, hee would haue it kept vp; but hee can giue no countenance to any aduauces on his part that may bee lyable to expose him to a denyall or to the reproch of lightnesse of beleef in a busines of that nature, and this you may in a secure way conuay to him that imployd the other to Breda, if hee continue in those partes. If hee come hether (for hee is not yet ariued), hee will bee instructed here. Beleeue mee to bee, good Mr. Secretary,

f. 464.

Your most faithfull servant,

H.

*Endorsed by Nicholas, Lord Lieut. to mee from Fuenturaue.*

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\* This refers to the preceding letter, inclosed in that of the 23rd.

1659.

## LORD COLEPEPER.

Fuenterrabie, 8 November, 1659.

Saturday, 4 of the clock.

f. 465.

The inclosed came to late to goe by the expresse that parted hence at an houers warning three days since, yet I thinke fitt to send it to shew you what my opinion then was; neither is it much changed since that time, though wee heard nothing more of that matter in particular since that time. Only after the conference yesterday, when the peace and mariage were both signed, so with this in [it] is a day of tryomphe here. *Don Luis told y<sup>e</sup> King that he liked y<sup>e</sup> Cardinal better then he did, and that he hoped he should be able to speake more particularly upon Munday next, when there will be another conference.* This day *S<sup>r</sup>. H. Bennet* is gon to meet the *commandeur* and, if he returne within an houer (when this letter must be deliuered), you shall know what he bringeth; otherwise you shall haue it by the next. Vppon the whole matter *Lo. Culpeper* doth hope well, though perhaps he would be trobled to giue you sufficient raison for it. *Lo. Jermyn* stayeth at Tholouse, expecting the returne of the Cardinall thither. There are like to be but two conferences more, and then wee shall all leaue this place, but I doe not yet know whither wee shall goe; only I heare it will be to *France in devided companys*. I thanke you for yours of the  $\frac{15}{8}$ . I am caled vppon for y<sup>e</sup> letter and have not time to ad any word more, saving that M<sup>r</sup>. *Armorer* brought vs hither two dayes since the news of the dissolution of the Parliament<sup>a</sup> and that *the King* hath a longe letter from *Lord Mordant*, wherein there are some things I like very well. The King is in perfect good health and hath strangely wonn vppon the affection of all here.

*Unsigned; endorsed, Lord Culpeper.*

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<sup>a</sup> Lambert turned back the Speaker and closed the House 13 Oct. (Whitelocke, p. 684). The officers made Fleetwood their General and formed (26 Oct.) a Committee of Safety of twenty-three members to carry on the government.

## DUKE OF YORK.

1659.

Instructions to Mr. Nicholls imployed by me for the getting the towne of Dunkerke and the fort of Mardike to be put into the Kinges hands.

Eg. 2542.  
f. 296.

In y<sup>e</sup> first place you shall let those who can contribute to this service know that his Mat<sup>y</sup> hath left full power with me in his absence to treat with any of his subjects I shall thinke fitt for the advancement of his service and to engage my self in his Mat<sup>ys</sup> name to procure unto them not only indemnity for all matters past but such recompence as I shall judge proportionable to their merits in his Mat<sup>ys</sup> service.

2<sup>ly</sup>. By vertue of this authority you shall assure them from me that in case they shall put y<sup>e</sup> place into my hands for his Mat<sup>ys</sup> use that I will engage my self for y<sup>e</sup> payment of the arreares of all y<sup>e</sup> officers and souldiers and that they shalbe continued in their severall places and charges and reparacion made for all damages any officer or souldier shall receive in England upon that account.

3<sup>ly</sup>. I do engage my self to procure y<sup>e</sup> concurrence of both y<sup>e</sup> crownes for y<sup>e</sup> keeping of y<sup>e</sup> place in my hands for his Mat<sup>ys</sup> use.

4<sup>ly</sup>. You shall assure them that I am soe exact an observer of my word that they may be most confident of y<sup>e</sup> performance of my promise to them.

5<sup>ly</sup>. You shall present to them y<sup>e</sup> importance of their performing this service not only to themselves but to y<sup>e</sup> whole nation, for as much as very probably it may become a leading case and example to other parts of y<sup>e</sup> army, by which means every man (except those that voted his late Mat<sup>ys</sup> murder) may finde his life, liberty, estate and conscience in security, and rest and peace be restored to the nation without bloodshed, and consequently they would be y<sup>e</sup> authors of y<sup>e</sup> most glorious and beneficiall action that ever any English men were capable of.

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6<sup>ly</sup>. You shall let them know that upon y<sup>e</sup> least intimacion from you of their readines to harken to these or y<sup>e</sup> like propositions I will privately repaire to some adjacent place.

Lastly, you shall lay before them y<sup>e</sup> consequences of their severall changes, which are dishonourable to y<sup>e</sup> nation, and the great probability of y<sup>e</sup> two crownes embracing heartily his Mat<sup>ys</sup> interests and inducing their respective allys to concurre with them therein.

Query whether either a letter should be sent from the Duke or a particular instruccion with reference to D. N.

*In the hand of John Nicholas with corrections and additions by Sir Edward. The query at the end is in the latter's hand.*

*Endorsed,* These instruccions were engrossed for y<sup>e</sup> D. of Yorke to signe the 18 of November, 1659, Bruxelles.

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COL. ROBERT WHITLEY.

SIR,

London, 1<sup>st</sup> Decem<sup>r</sup>.

Eg. 2536,  
f. 467.

. . . . On Saturday y<sup>e</sup> comitte of y<sup>e</sup> citty sent some of their company to Wallingford House, where they moued Fleetwood that his army-men might be drawne out of y<sup>e</sup> citty and their militia settled in such hands as they could confide in, that y<sup>e</sup> grenades and other fyer-works lately brought to Pauls and Gresham Colledge might be remoued and satisfaction giuen for y<sup>e</sup> blood lately shed. To y<sup>e</sup> first it was answerd that they would consider of it and giue their answer on Monday; to y<sup>e</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> that y<sup>e</sup> grenades should be remoued that night; as to y<sup>e</sup> 3<sup>d</sup>, that it was in heate of disorder, which they desired to passe by, etc. On Sonday, y<sup>e</sup> Mayor<sup>a</sup> being informed that some anabaptists were drawing to arms, he issued orders to the constables to warne all house-holders to be in a readinesse with their halberts, etc., to preserve y<sup>e</sup> peace; and accordingly 3 or 4000 appeared

<sup>a</sup> Thomas Aleyn, successor to Sir John Ireton.

1659.

in y<sup>e</sup> seuerall quarters of y<sup>e</sup> towne, and many of them continued in arms all night. On Monday y<sup>e</sup> Tower should haue bin put into y<sup>e</sup> hands of Okey,<sup>a</sup> Scot,<sup>b</sup> Streater<sup>c</sup> and some other of y<sup>e</sup> late Parlements frinds, but [it was] discoverd by Miller<sup>d</sup> (Lt. Collonel to Baxter) and prevented by Desborow, Huson and some others, who went thither in y<sup>e</sup> night, ceased upon Fits (y<sup>e</sup> present Gouvernor) and secured it for y<sup>e</sup> army. Fits and 2 Captaines are in hold, and Miller commands y<sup>e</sup> place; they say Scot is fled and Okey imprison'd upon this occasion. The possessing of y<sup>e</sup> Tower and some of y<sup>e</sup> Citty Gates haue cowed many of y<sup>e</sup> wary sort, but y<sup>e</sup> youth and rabble are y<sup>e</sup> more desperate. Fleetwood defer'd his answer to y<sup>e</sup> citty desires till Tuesday; at which time y<sup>e</sup> comitte wayted on him and spent some tyme in debating y<sup>e</sup> businesse, but at last are persuaded to comply with y<sup>e</sup> present interests of y<sup>e</sup> army.

On Wensday the Common Councell sate most of y<sup>e</sup> day. There was presented to them 2 petitions, one from y<sup>e</sup> householders, y<sup>e</sup> other from y<sup>e</sup> seamen, subscribed by many hands, but neither of them receiued with soe much cheerfullnesse as was expected. Y<sup>e</sup> settling of theire militia and remouing y<sup>e</sup> soldyers from amongst them was long debated. Guin, Chamberlaine, and one more, I thinke Robinson, were earnest in y<sup>e</sup> pointe; but (at last) it was carryed against them and resolued that y<sup>e</sup> militia may stand as now it is and y<sup>e</sup> soldyers continue in y<sup>e</sup> citty. All house-holders were also desired to keep in theire sons and seruants and to be ready with theire arms when they shall be

<sup>a</sup> Col. John Okey, regicide. In Oct. 1659, he supported Parliament against the Army and was cashiered by the council of officers. On the failure of the attempt to seize the Tower he took refuge with Lawson and the fleet.

<sup>b</sup> Thomas Scott or Scot, regicide (see below, p. 212, note).

<sup>c</sup> John Streater or Streeter, the pamphleteer. On 30 July the Council of State made him commander of the artillery train, and after the restoration of the Long Parliament he was given the command of Hewson's regiment.

<sup>d</sup> Lieut. Col. John Miller (see a list of officers of the Tower regiment late Col. Barkstead's, now Col. Fitch's, in *Cal. St. Pap.* 5 July, 1659, p. 8).

1659. called upon by y<sup>e</sup> Lord Mayor or Sheriff to preserue y<sup>e</sup> peace of y<sup>e</sup> citty. Y<sup>e</sup> generality (especially y<sup>e</sup> young ones) are much vn-satisfied with these resolues; they raile at theire Mayor and some others as being bribed by y<sup>e</sup> army and false to y<sup>e</sup> interests of y<sup>e</sup> citty.

On Thursday a proclamation was published intimating y<sup>e</sup> calling of a Parlement before y<sup>e</sup> 24<sup>th</sup> Jan., and this day another is set out for banishing all Malignants, Papists, etc., without of y<sup>e</sup> citty and lines of comunicacion. I am just now assured that they are seising on y<sup>e</sup> horses in seuerall stables about y<sup>e</sup> towne, soe that (notwithstanding y<sup>e</sup> seeming calmenesse amongst vs) we are full of apprehensions and danger. Y<sup>e</sup> Anabaptists haue had seuerall meetings in arms (by night) this weeke in seuerall parts of y<sup>e</sup> citty and suburbs, soe haue y<sup>e</sup> prentises, especially nere y<sup>e</sup> walls, and y<sup>e</sup> army men are almost watched off theire legs. There be seuerall affronts done to them and some of them killed in by-lanes; y<sup>e</sup> last night one of them was killed by Temple-bar and another hurt; the night before one of theire sentinells was shot at, but missed. However, it gaue an alarme and shewes y<sup>e</sup> temper of y<sup>e</sup> people. You may be assured that all here (except y<sup>e</sup> interested and wary ones) are ripe and almost mad for action. We say that those at Portsmouth are strong. Lawson (with his fleete) hath declared for y<sup>e</sup> late Parlement and come into y<sup>e</sup> Hope, whither Sir Harry Vane and Salloway are gone to him to persuaade him to comply with y<sup>e</sup> army. The rumor is that Taunton-Deane and some other places haue declared for y<sup>e</sup> Parlement, but y<sup>e</sup> most important newes is that Monke is marched by y<sup>e</sup> way of Carlisle and soe towards Lancashire. Y<sup>e</sup> number of his force and equipage is considerable, but my friend forgot y<sup>e</sup> particulars, onely that he had some hundreds of baggage-horses for his ammunicion, etc. This comes (late this night) from White-hall and beleiued there, though not yet talked of abroad. I am told *we shall act here in three or fower days, if not pre-vented, which I feare we are open* [to]. I haue about thirty

gentlemen ready—most of them were with Mr. Crawley (*Chester*)—and in good equipage. I shall desire to be directed by some here that manage the Kings busines. Browne promises to act rather then quitt the pren[t]ises. This is y<sup>e</sup> accompt of this euening. In my last I said something about ships. There be at Rochester twelue in harbour, two in dock, and two on gard at the riuier mouth. My friend hath broke y<sup>e</sup> businesse to Peck,<sup>a</sup> clarke of cheque, who consents to act when King appeares and hopes to preuaile with his brother, the commissioner. They haue good interest with seamen. My friend liues neare hand, and, if commission and instructions be sent, I hope well of it. Sir, I made an humble suite to you and Mr. Harper<sup>b</sup> in my last that ye would get me a grant of a lease of Hospitall at Crawley (*Chester*) from the King, y<sup>e</sup> value not much, but of aduantage to me in that place, and noe present pretender (of right) to it. Be pleased to doe me this and other good offices to the King, and preserue me in your fauorable opinions and accept y<sup>e</sup> dutye of, Sir,

Your most humble and obedient seruant

Unsigned ; endorsed by Nicholas, Coll. Whitley.

COL. ROBERT WHITLEY.

SIR,

London, 1<sup>st</sup> March, 59.

I haue yours of y<sup>e</sup> 6<sup>th</sup> and returne my most humble thanks for your fauor in acquainting 420 (*the King*) and 467 (*Lo. Chancellor*) with y<sup>e</sup> contents of 463 (*Mr. Heath's*) his letter to my aduantage. I beseech you continue y<sup>e</sup> doing me good offices, as to one that will endeauor (by all possible wayes) to serue our master and to deserue y<sup>e</sup> fauors you are pleased to conferre upon me.

In answer to y<sup>e</sup> queerys of your last letter S<sup>r</sup>. Johns is one of

<sup>a</sup> Phineas Pett, clerk of the check at Chatham, brother of Peter Pett, Commissioner of the Navy.

<sup>b</sup> Sir E. Hyde (cipher in Eg. 2550, f. 79b).

1659. those on whom 344 (*Monke*)<sup>a</sup> much depends for counsell, but I thinke lesse now then heretofore. I cannot tell his thoughts and purposes. Those must be judged by *you, who be in the center where all intelligence meete*; but not onely his actions but seuerall late discourses speake him noe frind to y<sup>e</sup> K's person nor interest. As for y<sup>e</sup> former, he hath render'd him a person not to be trusted, reflecting on some passages in Scotland, wherein he taxed him for breach of faith and ingratitude to those that introduced him there, with other calumnyes that might make him vnacceptable to that party; and for his interest, when y<sup>e</sup> conueniency, if not necessity, of hauing a single person hath bin mention'd, he hath prefer'd R. Cromwell and others (amongst whom y<sup>e</sup> Prince of Aurange and Prince Elector hath bin named, but I cannot certainly say whether by him or noe), arguing against y<sup>e</sup> King, y<sup>e</sup> impossibility of security from him, for, though he were of a nature to intend it, yet it is impossible soe to provide for it but future Parlements may bring their heads upon y<sup>e</sup> block for what they haue done. He also objected y<sup>e</sup> alienation of y<sup>e</sup> Crowne and Church lands, y<sup>e</sup> sufferings of his party, y<sup>e</sup> debts and necessityes of himselfe and followers, with all that could be sayd to deterre them from y<sup>e</sup> thoughts of them, besides y<sup>e</sup> necessity of a speedy settlement, which could not be by calling in his Ma<sup>ty</sup>, for, were they to begin a treaty with him that very day, it could not be finished in 2 yeares, soe many were y<sup>e</sup> particulars to be insisted on. These be his discourses, but I hope he may haue better principles. *Mr. Perpoint*<sup>b</sup> met *Monke on his journey and had a whole days discourse in their coach together*. He is dayly expected here. *Monke relies much on him*; but y<sup>e</sup> greatest confident he hath, on whose frindship and

<sup>a</sup> Monck entered London 3 Feb. For his marches between 2 Jan. and 3 Feb. see *Clarke Papers*, iv. p. xxiii.

<sup>b</sup> William Pierrepont, 2nd son of Robert, 1st Earl of Kingston, and member for Much Wenlock in the Long Parliament. On 23 Feb. 1660, after the secluded members were re-admitted, he was chosen at the head of the list for the Council of State.

judgement (and they say he is a wise man) hee most depends on, is *Morris*,<sup>a</sup> *knight of the shire for Devon*. He will be here this weeke. Ye day before y<sup>e</sup> seclused members were readmitted, *Monke* had a letter from him with reasons and an earnest desire to *put them in power, which perswaded more then all other arguments*. This *Col. Clobery*<sup>b</sup> and his brother in law *Redman*,<sup>c</sup> at present Commander of *Irish brigade* and about *Salop and Chester*, and *Col. Knight* (a great frind of *Lord Manchester*) are officers of most esteeme with him, but I am assured he is very kinde to and confides much in *his brother Clarges*,<sup>d</sup> with whom I haue had, and may haue, some power if I had commission and instruction what to offer.

As for y<sup>e</sup> abjuracion and engagement, we heare noe more of them. I cannot forbear to tell you of an imprudent discourse that y<sup>e</sup> last weeke came from one that pretends to witt, but might very well haue more discretion or loyalty, viz. *Sir W<sup>m</sup>. Davenant*. Hee being in company with *two Parliament men* and a confident of *Monke*, discoursing of the *King* and composing of differences, told a story how the *King* would not let *Mr. Cooley*<sup>e</sup> kisse his hand, though solicited and presented by *Lo. Jermin*, which argued *irreconcilableness in his nature*, as is

<sup>a</sup> William Morice, M.P. for Devon, 15 Aug. 1648, but never sat, and re-elected in 1654 and 1656, but not allowed to sit. He represented Newport, Cornwall, in 1658 and Plymouth in the Convention Parliament, April, 1660. Charles II. made him Secretary of State, Feb. 1659-60, and knighted him on landing.

<sup>b</sup> Lieut.-Col. John Clobery was sent by Monck with Col. Wilkes and Major (later Col.) Ralph Knight to treat with Lambert and the officers. See Monk's letter to Lambert, 3 Nov. 1659, in *Clarke Papers*, iv. p. 88.

<sup>c</sup> Sent by Monck with the Irish Brigade into Cheshire at the end of 1659 (*Clarke Papers*, iv. p. 251). He entered into relations with Royalist agents and was knighted after the Restoration.

<sup>d</sup> Thomas Clarges, whose sister Anne was married to Monck in 1654. He was appointed Commissary-General of Musters in Feb. 1660, and on 2 May was sent to Charles with the message from the Convention Parliament inviting him to England. He was knighted by Charles as soon as he reached Breda.

<sup>e</sup> Abraham Cowley, the poet, who was secretary to Lord Jermin (vol. i. p. 219).

1659. inferd by y<sup>e</sup> company and *for the Kings disadvantage at this time*, whateuer hee intended by it.

*Sir Geo. Booth, Sir Tho. Middleton and other good men will endeauor to be in Parliament, militia, and other power in order to the Kings seruice.* Though many haue (of late) had some hopes of *Lambert*, yet I cannot make it out that he hath *the least duty for the King*. He is in great intrigue both with *Sectarys and Papists*, was *sheltered* (as report goes) at *Arundell house* during his late privacy, where Sir Ar.<sup>a</sup> was often with him. *Lambert* was (as I am told) with Mr. Anslow<sup>b</sup> (President of y<sup>e</sup> Councell) on Friday night; on Saturday he was abroad, more publicly then of late. There were some seeming endeauors for a reconciliation betwixt him and Monk, but being suspected to haue a hand in y<sup>e</sup> new designe of y<sup>e</sup> Phanatiques, he was brought before y<sup>e</sup> Councell late on Munday night, and from thence sent to y<sup>e</sup> Tower<sup>c</sup> about eleauen of y<sup>e</sup> clock, where he still is. If he would haue giuen security on his parole not to disturbe y<sup>e</sup> publique peace, they would haue accepted it, but since his imprisonment he hath petition'd y<sup>e</sup> house. His petition was read, but layd aside.

On Saturday last Monk was made Major Generall of y<sup>e</sup> citty. If he adhere constantly to them and y<sup>e</sup> true interest of y<sup>e</sup> nation, he hath a more considerable force vnder his command then that of his army (which is y<sup>e</sup> most vncerteyn fickle body in y<sup>e</sup> world and not to be fixed by anything except y<sup>e</sup> citty money); but if he should decline them and fall back to y<sup>e</sup> Rump or a Republique,

<sup>a</sup> Sir Arthur Hesilrige.

<sup>b</sup> Arthur Annesley, member for Radnor in the Long Parliament but excluded in 1648. He was chosen President of the Council of State in Feb. 1660, and sat in the Convention Parliament for Carmarthen; succeeded as Viscount Valentia Nov. 1660, and created Earl of Anglesey 20 April, 1661.

<sup>c</sup> He was committed to the Tower 6 March, but escaped 10 April. Though he collected some adherents, they gave way without striking a blow and he was taken prisoner by Col. Ingoldsby, who was sent in pursuit, near Daventry on 22 April.

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I beleive he hath not soe y<sup>e</sup> command of them but that they can make choice of another more proper for theire purposes. They intend to raise a 1000 horse (in 10 troops), which they offer to Browne, and talke of an addition of as many more; but he is out of humor, and I doe not heare that he yet accepts of them. In the citty they are very earnest upon raising theire auxiliaries, and some addresses (in hand) to that effect. I suppose y<sup>e</sup> 6 regiments already raised consist of about 8000 good men. Robinson commands y<sup>e</sup> greene regiment, Wale y<sup>e</sup> white, Bateman y<sup>e</sup> red, Bludworth y<sup>e</sup> orange, Vincent y<sup>e</sup> blew, and Bromfeild y<sup>e</sup> yellow.<sup>a</sup>

This Saturday night there was a plot of y<sup>e</sup> sectaries and Rump party discover'd; y<sup>e</sup> designe was to haue massacred y<sup>e</sup> Generall and many of y<sup>e</sup> members of Parlement and Councell of State with some other considerable persons, as y<sup>e</sup> informacion or pretence is. Here was in towne Lambert, Desborow, Okey, and about 150 officers of y<sup>e</sup> westerne regiments with abundance of theere soldyers (such as they could most confide in), but scatter'd up and downe and priuate or pretending businesse. They had a party in Monk's army besides y<sup>e</sup> sectaries in that place. At y<sup>e</sup> same instant that they were to act here other parties were to appeare in seuerall parts of y<sup>e</sup> nation. From y<sup>e</sup> north it is aduertised that Ouerton had writ to seuerall of y<sup>e</sup> army officers in those parts (and some say to Lord Fairefax) to joine with him against y<sup>e</sup> present power. These letters are sent to y<sup>e</sup> Parlement with a desire of comission to act against him. From Glocester they say that Pury<sup>b</sup> (theire gouernor) had secured y<sup>e</sup> Mayor and many of y<sup>e</sup> honest citizens, had taken into his garison a number of sectaries and declared for y<sup>e</sup> Rump. Y<sup>e</sup> like accompt from Caws Castle; also from Denbigh (which is blockt up

<sup>a</sup> The first five were aldermen and were all knighted on 26 May, 1660, Sir John Robinson being created a baronet in June. The sixth was probably Thomas Bromfield who was elected alderman 24 July, 1651, but was discharged on paying a fine the same day. See Beaven, *The Aldermen of the City of London*, 1913.

<sup>b</sup> Thomas Pury. See an order of Parliament for a letter of thanks to him, 30 July, 1659, in *Cal. St. Pap.* pp. 51, 55.

1659. by Coll. Redman) and some other places. Collonell Berry<sup>a</sup> was to head a party towards Shropshire and Wales, and Major Creed about Shillingworth (where y<sup>e</sup> rendezous of Warwick-shire and y<sup>e</sup> ajacent parts was to be). They say he had 16000<sup>ls</sup>. (ready money) to carry on his worke and that Northampton, Leicester, Darbyshire, Staffordshire, etc., were in his association. Sir John Norris is agayne vpon his guard to hinder their proceedings in those parts.

From Kent I haue an accompt that y<sup>e</sup> sectaries are very bold and bloody in their discourses. One of them (vpon y<sup>e</sup> reports that Riches regiment was come in) sayd that it could not hinder y<sup>e</sup> designe they had in hand; that they had 40,000 men would wallow in blood rather then tamely part with their interest. They say there they are plotting with y<sup>e</sup> Papists. Some friends desire (in behalfe of y<sup>e</sup> contrey) that they may be disarmed and that the Parlement would not trust their ships (now going to sea from Chatham) in y<sup>e</sup> hands of y<sup>e</sup> anabaptists, as Dekins, Newberry, etc., nor of any other captain, master, boateswaine, gunner, etc., of y<sup>e</sup> like principles. This is put into y<sup>e</sup> hands of some of y<sup>e</sup> Councill of State, who (I hope) will take order to preuent them. There were (this same night) 25 horse-colors (all new) seised upon in Chancery Lane, and some arms prepared for y<sup>e</sup> execution of this designe.

On Sunday y<sup>e</sup> Common Prayer was redd at Mr. Ball's church (as I take it) and seuerall other places in y<sup>e</sup> citty, and Mr. Masterton (or Masterton<sup>b</sup>) told them in his sermon (many of y<sup>e</sup> Parlement men being present) that, hauing contributed soe much to y<sup>e</sup> ruine of y<sup>e</sup> father, they had nothing now to thinke of but restoring y<sup>e</sup> son, which if they did not (being now in power againe), this sermon (besides many other things) would rise up in judgement against them. The Councill of State sate this afternoone

<sup>a</sup> Col. James Berry or Bury, member of the Council of State.

<sup>b</sup> Probably Masterton, of St. Clement's, who was later suspended from preaching (*Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 727).

about y<sup>e</sup> late plott discouerd. Scot was examined about it and some blank commissions. He pretends ignorance and that y<sup>e</sup> commissions were old ones during y<sup>e</sup> Rump, etc. It is sayd Lawson was to act his part in y<sup>e</sup> fleete and we haue had seuerall reports of some ships reuolted, some say to y<sup>e</sup> K., others that they are gone to Hull; but certeyne it is that 15 or 16 of them are fallen downe (I suppose by order) into y<sup>e</sup> Downs. Upon this discouery y<sup>e</sup> Councell of State (or y<sup>e</sup> Juncto of them) resolute to act more briskely.

On Monday there was 30 colors more (prepared for y<sup>e</sup> designe) ceised on and many arms (200 case of pistolls in one place). These and some other circumstances doe seeme to confirme y<sup>e</sup> reality of it, which would otherwise be suspected as a designe to draw on Monk to a further and more vigorous declaracion of his intencions or to vsher in y<sup>e</sup> Couenant, which was this day reuiued in y<sup>e</sup> house. And upon y<sup>e</sup> vote for y<sup>e</sup> publicacion of it in euery church, old blind Stephens<sup>a</sup> of Glocestershire sayd that y<sup>e</sup> Couenant included King, Lords, and Commons, and that was y<sup>e</sup> pointe desired by all y<sup>e</sup> nation, and to which they must come at last, and y<sup>e</sup> sooner they went about it y<sup>e</sup> better. All y<sup>e</sup> house cried, "Well moued," and set up a great showt. This day Mr. Faunt (Sheriff of Leicestershire) came post to towne and waited on y<sup>e</sup> Councell of State with y<sup>e</sup> news that on Tuesday, 12 at night, y<sup>e</sup> Phanatiques in that county were to rendezous, and Monk ordered a regiment of his horse (quarter'd neare those parts) to preuent them.

On Tuesday Monk with his lady, family, and officers were treated at Mercers Chappell. Y<sup>e</sup> entertainment was handsome and y<sup>e</sup> company merry. One of y<sup>e</sup> aldermen that sate next to Ald. Atkins<sup>b</sup> cutt off a Rump, salted it well, and sett it about y<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Nathaniel Stephens, elected 28 Oct. 1640. "Mr. Stephens told them there was no way left for saving these dying kingdomes but calling home the King" (letter of Major Wood, *Clar. St. Pap.* iii. p. 696).

<sup>b</sup> Thomas Atkyn or Atkyns, alderman 1638, M.P. for Norwich 1640, knighted by Cromwell 5 Dec. 1657.

1659. table for a frolique; it past Monk and all of them and at last came home to poore Atkins, which putt him very much out of countenance. This day y<sup>e</sup> Lords house had a double guard upon it and soe continues. On Friday last (as I take it) some of y<sup>e</sup> Lords made a shew of going in, but it is against y<sup>e</sup> haire, both y<sup>e</sup> Generall and Commons-house dissuading it; and some of y<sup>e</sup> Lords are of opinion that, if they should now sit and dissolve themselves with y<sup>e</sup> Commons, it would make them incapable of sitting [in] y<sup>e</sup> next intended Parlement; whereas, if they forbear it till then, they may haue a pretence of assembling, and I thinke they haue some promise for it. This day (I heare) Sir Th. Middleton tooke his place in y<sup>e</sup> house, but stayd not long in it. Mr. Peter Brooks went in a day or two before, but some of y<sup>e</sup> members had a mynde to speake against him; y<sup>e</sup> cheife reason, for his not owning himselfe a member of y<sup>e</sup> Parlement when he was called before them after y<sup>e</sup> Cheshire businesse; but others (more modest and ciuill) spoke to theire frinds and soe they to y<sup>e</sup> rest, that he should be suffer'd to stay there without affront. A day or 2 before Sir Tho. M[iddleton] was with Monk and asked his opinion about going into y<sup>e</sup> house, but had noe encouragement for it. Sir G. Booth hath some particular occasions that keepe him yet from sitting, but he intends it before y<sup>e</sup> house dissolve.

On Wensday Sir Arthur was in y<sup>e</sup> house; as he went thence (to dinner) about 200 boyes assaulted him in y<sup>e</sup> Palace Yard with "Noe Rump, noe Rump, Sir Arthur," and soe pursued him with showtes and ill language till they forced him into y<sup>e</sup> heg<sup>a</sup> for sanctuary. This day y<sup>e</sup> officers of y<sup>e</sup> army (some of Monks, whereof Cloberry is the first, and others of y<sup>e</sup> Rump) were hot upon a remonstrance against all single persons, particularly y<sup>e</sup> King and his family, and for y<sup>e</sup> settling of a free State. This gaue vs great disturbance and apprehension that y<sup>e</sup> Parlement would not sit many howres. It is fomented by Haslerig, Scot,

<sup>a</sup> So MS., apparently for "hedge".

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and y<sup>e</sup> fyer-brands of that party. This night it was thought that Monk had reason'd them into a better temper, telling them that, as he was resolved to acquiesce in y<sup>e</sup> determinacion of y<sup>e</sup> Parlement, soe he expected that all vnder him should doe y<sup>e</sup> like; and if they were not pleased with their commands upon those termes, he would finde others that would bee, etc., soe that we hoped all would be well.

But upon this Thursday morning y<sup>e</sup> officers were agayne with y<sup>e</sup> Generall to know if he would signe their Declaracion or noe. Hee reason'd y<sup>e</sup> pointe with them and at last proposed that 10 of them should meete this afternoone with a like number of y<sup>e</sup> members of Parlement to conferre and accommodate y<sup>e</sup> businesse; of which wee hope a good issue. Rich, Haslerig, Scot, and many more of that gang were in y<sup>e</sup> Hall (that morning) with their swords by their sides and very jocond and confident. Scot made a complainte (a day or 2 agoe) to y<sup>e</sup> Generall that y<sup>e</sup> Royalists were gone very high, had threatned some of y<sup>e</sup> Parlement party of being revenged in a short tyme, doe weare their swords and are very busy in carrying on y<sup>e</sup> present affaires; and some of y<sup>e</sup> army officers doe also complayne of y<sup>e</sup> indiscretion (they call it insolence) of y<sup>e</sup> K's party in these and some other respects, and particularly that some (employed by y<sup>e</sup> K. as agents here) haue sayd that, soe soone as they had got y<sup>e</sup> militia settled in y<sup>e</sup> nation, they would bring in y<sup>e</sup> K. in spite of y<sup>e</sup> army and all their adherents. This puts them upon thoughts of their owne security and other interests and (in my opinion) conduces to their obstinacy in this new Remonstrance as much as y<sup>e</sup> persuasions of Haslerig and y<sup>e</sup> other artifices of that party.

There is great briguing<sup>a</sup> all ouer y<sup>e</sup> kingdome about elections for y<sup>e</sup> next Parlement. Young Lenthall<sup>b</sup> sent lately to Abington,

<sup>a</sup> Brigue, to intrigue, canvass. The earliest reference for the subst. given in the *New Engl. Dict.* is in Swift's *Tale of a Tub*, 1704.

<sup>b</sup> John Lenthall, knighted by Cromwell 9 March, 1653. He was elected for Abington in the Convention Parliament, but was expelled from the house 12 May (*Commons' Journals*, viii. p. 24).

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for which place (as I take it) he now semes to haue their promise, to choose him one of their burgesses. I heare they returned this answer, that that towne and county were resolved not to choose any but such as (they had good assurance off) would not act against y<sup>e</sup> interest and settlement of y<sup>e</sup> nation according to y<sup>e</sup> known lawes of y<sup>e</sup> land, soe that he must comport himselfe to that rule or bee noe member for that place; and I am told he hath much changed his note (if not his principles) since his envenom'd speech (about 2 months agoe) against y<sup>e</sup> K. to y<sup>e</sup> Comissioners of the citty. But I can hardly beleieve (till I see it) that this Parlement will dissolue themselves; for, if it be a free state that they ayme at, they will hardly finde soe many members in y<sup>e</sup> next Parlement as there be in this that will joyne with them in that designe. But if monarchy and establishing y<sup>e</sup> K. be y<sup>e</sup> businesse (as at present it appeares to be y<sup>e</sup> desire of y<sup>e</sup> nation), why should these leaue y<sup>e</sup> honor and aduantages of it to others, who perhaps (considering how many young men and consequently hott heads will be elected) may run warmly to a treaty or conclusion with y<sup>e</sup> King without regarding y<sup>e</sup> security of those that haue acted against him or y<sup>e</sup> pretensions of others in present power? Therefore, if it must come to that, it may be reasonable for them to manage it themselves, both for their indemnity and other interests. Besides, y<sup>e</sup> many designes on foote by y<sup>e</sup> Anabaptists and other malecontents may persuade them to beleieve that there may be danger in y<sup>e</sup> dissolution of this Parlement, that they will be encouraged to insurrections and attempts upon y<sup>e</sup> Gouvernement in y<sup>e</sup> intervall of it. Probably some that are now members haue noe assurance of being soe agayne; therefore they will continue in power as long as they can and haue a hand in y<sup>e</sup> settlement of y<sup>e</sup> nation, if y<sup>e</sup> army will giue them leaue. And there be petitions (intended) in y<sup>e</sup> citty to this effect, which perhaps tomorrow or on Saturday (when there is a Common Councell appointed) will come to light. Y<sup>e</sup> like is designing in some other parts, but y<sup>e</sup> Rumpers

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would faigne haue them dissolued, and rather by y<sup>e</sup> army then their owne act, that soe they might haue a pretence (interpreting it rather a force upon then dissolucion of y<sup>e</sup> Parlement) to sitt agayne. I heare Nudigate is to be one of y<sup>e</sup> Comissioners of y<sup>e</sup> Seale and Glin Cheefe Justice; other places and preferments are designing, etc. Monk was to dine this day in y<sup>e</sup> citty at Clothworkers Hall, but I heare it is put off till Tuesday by reason of this disturbance made by y<sup>e</sup> officers. I am told he hath bin high with them, putt them in minde of y<sup>e</sup> fate of y<sup>e</sup> Wallingford-house officers for their meddling in state matters; that it was not to dispute with their superiors but to be obedient to them for which he brought them out of Scotland. He aduised them to lett him heare noe more of these matters, least he tooke such a course as would displease them, soe that we hope well agayne. However, it is beleined that the soldiers are soe well satisfied with their citty enterteynements and their money (y<sup>e</sup> 27000<sup>l</sup>. desired being payd in) that they will adhere to them, to y<sup>e</sup> Parlement and generall, against their officers and all other opposition. . . .

Your obedient humble seruant,

W. H. (?)

I cannot omit that Monk's little son, being asked by a Lord (that dined this weeke at St. Jameses) who he was for, whether for a King, a Protector, or a Free State, he answer'd that he was for y<sup>e</sup> King and soe was his mother; and y<sup>e</sup> truth is she hath contributed very much to y<sup>e</sup> bringing matters to this passe.

Sir, on Monday last I receiued a letter from you dated y<sup>e</sup>  $\frac{1}{20}$ <sup>th</sup> Jan. You say it was sent by a frind, but sure he was interrupted in his passage. It conteyned nothing that now requires an answer. The last night there went an extraordinary pacquet from y<sup>e</sup> Councell of State into your parts, but whether by Ostend or Dunkirke I cannot say.

You haue y<sup>e</sup> newes from Ireland by one come lately from thence into your parts, soe that I shall not trouble you with it.

1659. Y<sup>e</sup> Commissioners that were intended from Scotland were stopt upon y<sup>e</sup> Lord Atholl's brother coming hither and giving accompt of our change of affaires, etc.

*Endorsed by Nicholas,  $\frac{9}{15}$  Martii, 1660, R.  $\frac{14}{4}$ , Coll. Watrey<sup>a</sup> concerning Sir W<sup>m</sup>. Davenant.*

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JOHN HEATH.

SIR,

March 9<sup>th</sup>, 1659.

- f. 19. . . . . Wee haue every day considerable occurrences here, but I cannot say the face of things has of late so often changed since the sitting of the secluded members,<sup>b</sup> who in little more then a fortnight's time haue done much; for besides the nulling of many former voates to your preiudice, the settling and changing of diuerse sherifes, collectors and other officers, the enlarging the cyty prisoners and settling their militia in their owne hands, G. Monke being their Maior Genrall, their discharging of commitments and sequestrations by Act, not only of Sir Geo. Booth and all his party but of all acts and attempts or crimes and offences of any others since 7<sup>th</sup> May last to y<sup>e</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> of this March, the resolving to send out writs for a parliament to sitt 25<sup>th</sup> of Aprill next (though they haue not yet agreed on the forme, stile, teste nor qualifications), they haue, notwithstanding the great indeauours of the sectarys to obstruct them and designes of vniuersall rising on Tuesday last, prevented their attempts by disarming them here, and in the country wee expect this day to heare by the poast they haue done as much. Lambert on Monday last was committed to the Tower. Haselrig and Rich on

<sup>a</sup> The hand appears to be Col. Whitley's and the cipher used (Egert. MS. 2550, f. 78) is endorsed by Nicholas "Cipher with Col. Whit[ley], Mr. Mom[pesson]," with the note "For Mr. C. Watrey direct my letters for Mr. Geo. Warde att Mrs. Blacklockes house next doore to the Divell Taverne by Temple Barr, London". In the cipher Watrey = Whitley and Natrey = Nicholas.

<sup>b</sup> The members secluded in 1648 again took their seats on 21 Feb., and the Long Parliament was finally dissolved on 16 Mar.

Wensday attended the howse and, takeing their places as members, receiued a charge among other things of fomenting a force against the parliament, which they denying they were ordered to attend y<sup>e</sup> Councel of State from day to day till they were fully examined and on report of it to y<sup>e</sup> howse further order giuen. Yesterday some of the officers of Monks army offerd him a declaration to signe to bee presented to y<sup>e</sup> Parliament that they should declare against C. Steward or any single person, on which termes their longer sitting without dissolving should bee indulged to them; which was prosecuted with some appearance of mutyny in the soldiours animated by them but [was] at last composed with a sharpe reprimand from Monke to them and threatening to dispose of their commissions, but withal an overture that in a quiet way hee would interpose that some members of the howse should confer with them to giue them satisfaction. In the meane time the same day the bill long in debate and preparation for setling commissioners of the militia in all countys was passed and orderd to bee ingrossed. Vpon several motions made in y<sup>e</sup> howse that writs cannot issue but in y<sup>e</sup> Kings name, that no establishment can bee but by King, Lords and Commons, it is ordered that y<sup>e</sup> solemne Leauge and Covenant bee sett vp in the howse, all churches and publique places, not with intent to oblige any to take it afresh but to reminde all Covenanters what they are obliged vnto, and particularly to mayntayne the Kings authority, etc. Theise are our occurrents.

*The Councell of State are for the greater part moderate, if not right men. Mr. Anesly is President, a very able and good man, one of the best there, and Saint Johns the very worst, and Thurlow as bad and Thomson not much better, both Secretaries of State,<sup>a</sup> but not of the Councell. I know not yett who hath most power with the Generall, but will informe my selfe and you the best I can.*

<sup>a</sup> Both Col. John Thompson and Thurloe were nominated for Secretaries of State, 27 Feb., but Thurloe was elected by 65 votes to 38.

1660. I am glad to heare *the K. of France and K. of Spaine resolute to assist our master in earnest*; it will much *help our credit and gaine vs good conditions here*, for they will *not doe much for loue but self interest*. Sir, I haue troubled you too long; it is time to begg your pardon of

Your most faythful and humble servant,

JOSEPH HERRICK

*Endorsed by Nicholas, 9 Martii, 1660, R. 14, Mr. Jo. Heath.*

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THOMAS MOMPESSEON.<sup>a</sup>

SIR,

London, Fryday, y<sup>e</sup> 30<sup>th</sup> [March], 1660.

f. 22.

Since my last heere is little trade, for most people are now busie in chooseing Parlement men<sup>b</sup> in the countrey. Those which are chosen for London are the Recorder Wild,<sup>c</sup> Major Gen. Browne, Alderman Robinson, and Alderman Vincent; for Westminster, Do<sup>r</sup>. Clergies (brother-in-law to the Generall) and a sonne of Sir Gilbert Gerrards. Heare hath been a speech that the Generall was disbanding 2 or 3 of the Englishe regiments which are inclined to the Phanaticke partie, but I am not certaine that it is yet donne. I was told this morning that there hath latelie been a meeting of the officers of the Generalls Scot[tis]h armie that lyeth in and about this towne, and the whole councill of officers did there subscribe and engadge one to another that they would acquiesce in what the next Parlement should determine as to the settleing a Gouverment in the nation. We all hope for great good from them, and till they sitt wee are not like to haue anie thing of newes that is considerable.

I thinke to goe the next weeke into the cuntrey and stay there till towards the sitting of the Parlement. I am aduised to lett noe

<sup>a</sup> M.P. for Wilton with John Nicholas in 1661. "Man" is a pseudonym.

<sup>b</sup> The Convention Parliament met 25 April.

<sup>c</sup> William Wilde, Recorder 1659, Justice of Common Pleas 1668, and of the King's Bench 1673-79.

1660.

time slippe but to seale leases of eiection and beginne a shute against those that are in possession of Tho. Mortimers lands. Some of the tennants haue been talked with about it and, I beleue, will giue possession, soe that by that meanes wee shall become the defendants and they that now receiue the rent must sue us, if they intend to hold the lands. I desire a word or two of aduice from you concerning this businesse as soone as with conueniencie you can, for I shall not proceed in it without your consent, though I am much encouradged that, if I did it, I should goe neere to carrie the shute. I heare they are at worke againe at Bathampton cutting downe the rest of the walkes of trees, but I writt downe to my vncke to forbid them. . . . *We haue now our freedom, the Councell of State granting passes to anie that indeauor to gett them, which containes liberty of going into the country or of staying in the towne. I saw Mr. John Heath and diuerse others haue them, soe I haue now gotten one myselfe. I hope I shall haue your aduice in the afforesaid businesse.*

I remaine,

Your loveing freind to serue you,

THO. MAN.

*Endorsed by Nicholas, 30 Martii, 1660, Mr. Mompesson.*

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SIR E. NICHOLAS TO T. MOMPESSEON.

<sup>8</sup>/<sub>16</sub> April, 1660.

f. 23.

Doe well to forbear to beginne a sute against those that have possession of your land<sup>a</sup> for that an eiection is a sute that will not quickly be decided and, if the tymes change, you must upon every alteration of government begin a new sute; besides I am not without hope you may come to your owne without a suite at law, and I am not single in this advise, but Lo. Chancellor and others here are alsoe of opinion that you should now forbear any such

<sup>a</sup> Lands in Wilts, late Thomas Mompesson's, were settled by Parliament on Unton Croke 27 Aug. 1659 (*C.J.* vii. p. 770).

1660. course till you see what the next parliament will resolve in order to his Majestys establishment.

There are many letters from sober men in England that complaine of diverse of the Kings party that begin already to threaten revenge on the rebells; which very much troubles the King and doth infinitely preiudice his present affaires in England. I pray therefore advise all your acquaintance to be more discretee, for such means (?) doe much harme.

*Rough draft, partly in shorthand.*

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CHARLES II. TO GENERALS MONCK AND MONTAGU.

- f. 39. TRUSTY AND WELBELOVED,

We greete you well. We haue received your letter of the 9<sup>th</sup> of May by this bearer Sir Peter Killigrew, and, as We must alwayes acknowledge the singular blessing of God Almighty, by whose immediate influence soe great a concurrence hath been wrought in the hearts and affections of the officers and seamen under your command in the reception of our Letter<sup>a</sup> and Declaration, soe We shall alwayes acknowledge your particular care and conduct and encouragement of those affections, and We desire you to returne our very gracious acceptance and thanks to the whole Fleete for the expressions they haue made of their affection and fidelity to vs; nor will you or they wounder that We doe professe to long with great impatience to be on board ourselfe in a fleete soe united and disposed for our service, which We hope We shall very shortly be. And soe We bid you heartily farwell. Given at our Court at Breda, the 23<sup>th</sup> May, 1660, etc.

To our Trusty and Welbeloved  
Generall Monck and Generall Mountagu,  
Generalls of our Fleete.

*Copy.*

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<sup>a</sup>The letter for the fleet sent to Monck and Montagu with the Declaration of Breda,  $\frac{1}{4}$  April (Clarendon, *History*, ed. 1888, vi. p. 202).

## CHARLES II. TO GENERAL MONCK.

1660.

TRUSTY AND WELBELOVED,

f. 41.

We greeete you well. You will easily beleeeue that your letter of the 5<sup>th</sup> of this moneth by Sir Tho. Clargis<sup>a</sup> was very welcome to Vs, and that as We must alwayes acknowledge the infinite mercy of God Almighty in disposing the hearts of the army in such an entire obedience to you for the promoting and carrying on Our service and the peace of the Kingdome, soe We can never be without a just esteeme of such a great and well disciplined army, upon which the eyes of the world are soe much fixed. We must desire you to returne our very hearty thankes to the officers and souldiers for their affection and obedience to Vs and to assure them from Vs that We shall alwayes haue an entire confidence in them, and ever acknowledge them to be the great instruments of restoring Vs to the nation and the nation to Vs, and peace and happnesse and security to vs all. And therefore they may not only with all imaginable confidence assure themselves that We will punctually performe whatever We haue promised to them in Our Declaration or Letter, but that We will take them into our particular care and protection. And if the licence and distemper of the time shall soe farr transport any men as to presume upon memory of former animositys and of what is past to use any reproaches towards them, We will looke upon such persons as disturbers of the peace and security of the Kingdome and shall cause them to be prosecuted accordingly. And towards this settlement and composure and for the prevention of many inconveniences which may fall out, We thinke nothing so necessary as Our presence with you, by which in a very short time every member of the army who shall faithfully adhere to you in the advancement of the publique peace would with the blessing of

<sup>a</sup> "I have since received yours of the 5th by Sir T. Clarges, with the address of the officers of the army made to you, upon which I shall not enlarge till the return of the same messenger" (Charles to Monck, 21 May, *Clar. St. Pap.*, iii., p. 745).

1660. God find himselfe secured and provided for to his satisfaction. And longing for that blessed time, We bid you heartily farwell. Given at our Court at y<sup>e</sup> Hague the 26<sup>th</sup> (*corrected by Nicholas from Breda the 23<sup>th</sup>*) of May, 1660.

To our Trusty and Welbeloved  
Generall Monck, to be comunicated  
to the officers of the Army.

*Copy.*

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CHARLES II. TO DON LUIS DE HARO.

MON COUSIN,

- f. 43. Connoissant la part que vous prenes en mes interets et l'affection que vous aues pour moy, Je suis tres asseuré que ce vous sera vne nouvelle bien agreable d'entendre que mes sujets sont rentrés dans leur obeissance et qu'on m'a proclamé Roy dans Londres. Aussi n'ay Je pas voulu manquer de vous la communiquer non plus que de vous asseurer qu'il me sera impossible de pouuoir jamais oublier les bons offices que vous m'aues rendu dans mes adversités et les civilités que J'ay receues de vous. Je doibs m'embarquer au premier jour sur la Flotte qui est venu d'Angleterre me querir, et J'espère que dans peu de temps Je seray en estat de vous tesmoigner par les effects d'un ressentiment fort juste combien Je suis, etc.

*Copy; endorsed, Mon<sup>r</sup> Don Louis de Haro, 26 May, 1660.*

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CHARLES II. TO THE MARQUIS DE CARACENA.

MON COUSIN,

- f. 44. Le Marquis d'Ormonde m'ayant trouvé en chemin, le voyage, et l'embarras de ce lieu ont esté cause qu'il ait fallu attendre quelque moment de repos pour l'escouter sur ce qui s'est passé dans vos conferences a Bruxelles. Maintenant J'ay voulu vous asseurer que mon dessein est d'avoir et d'observer tous les droits d'une bonne et ferme alliance envers sa Maté Catholique et tous

1660.

ses sujets, et que ce sera une des premieres choses que Je feray apres mon arrivée en Angleterre de faire ce que dependra de moy pour l'establir et en donner connoissance au monde par des proclamations et des acts les plus solempnelles, ne doutant pas que sa Maté Catholique et ses ministres ne soient dans les mesmes dispositions en ce qui est de l'entretenir et cultiver. Quant a ce qui est de mes troupes, vous m'obligerez de leur continuer la subsistance, et peu de jours apres mon arrivée au dela Je ne manqueray pas de vous faire sçavoir comment J'en disposeray.

Voila les esclaireissements que vous desirez de moy, auxquels Je r' adjousteray autre chose a cette heure si ce n'est que [Je] fais estat de m'embarquer Mardy (*corrected from* Lundy) avec toute la satisfaction que Je dois avoir de l'amitié de S.M.C. et de ses ministres.

A la Haye, 29<sup>me</sup> May, 1660.

*Amended draft.*

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JAMES HAMILTON.

f. 50.

On Tuesday night last in Mr. Read's chamber I consented to moue the King that, in consideration of the expences Mr. Read says hee has been at in procuring my Lord of Hollands patent and other papers relating to Hyde Park, hee might bee admitted an equal sharer with mee in the sute I intended to make for myself alone (as most proper for me and as hauing more title to it then any other) for the not excepting the houses built latly and since these troubles out of my patent in Hyd Park,<sup>a</sup> vpon the succes of wich hee was to deliuer mee all the afforsaid papers with the patent and all things relating therunto. According to wich I brought him to the King yesterday morning, who was

<sup>a</sup> A warrant for a grant to James Hamilton, gentleman of the bedchamber, of messuages in Hyde Park at a yearly rent of ten shillings, with a proviso that he should grant leases for twenty years to the purchasers under the late usurped powers, is in *Cal. St. Pap.* 1670, Addenda, 1660-70, p. 655.

1660. graciously pleased to grant the aforesayd houses to us both and the ranging of a park in the ile of Weight to himself alone in consideration of Hyde Park. This latter hee may haue passed in His Hignes the Duke of Glosesters name or in his own, as hee pleaseth; but as to the houses latly built in Hyde Park the King told me yesterday and last night [they] shoold passe in my patent and no other ways, upon wich I promised to make a deede to Mr. Reade, wherby I woold make him an equal sharer with mee in the profit of the sayd houses. But all this is with a promise that the sayd houses are not included in the Duke of Glosesters patent, wich if they bee, hee the sayd Mr. Read is by his own consent to mee to haue no share in them. Alle this the King doth perfectly vnderstand, and to prevent any wrong to mee commanded mee last night to leaue this paper with you. And when my Lady Hollands pretended interest will bee made apear no interest, wich Mr. Atorney assured mee shoold bee as soon as it woold come to him upon the producement of my Lord of Hollands resignacion of it, the Duk of Glosester has been graciously pleased to tell mee hee woold then make a surrender to the King of his patent, upon wich min wil immediatly pass in my own name. This paper I desir you wil bee pleased to show the King in casse Mr. Reade makes any disput and not suffer it to pass otherways then according [to] the contents heerof.

This is the humble sute of your most faithful seruant,

JAMES HAMILTON.

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SIR HENRY DE VIC.<sup>a</sup>

RIGHT HO<sup>ble</sup>,

- f. 55. . . . Upon Munday Col. Wuebanke (Ewbank) with one Mr. Munson came to mee to tell mee that they and some other

<sup>a</sup> This and following letters of Sir H. de Vic are mainly concerned with the discovery, surrender, and custody of Thomas Scot the regicide, who was ultimately sent back to England, tried on 12 Oct. and executed on 17 Oct. Particulars of

1660.

Englishmen here upon notice of a certaine suspected person that was in this towne had procurd a warrant from the Amand<sup>a</sup> to seize upon him, desiring mee to aduise them how they should proceed in that busines till they had an answere to a letter they had writen into England upon it to one of his Majesties Priuy Counsell. I asked them who was that suspected person? They told mee hee went vnder the name of Alison, but belieued hee was another; that hee had beene upon Saturday last from 9 in the euening till xj with D. Alonso de Cardenas and did conuerse most with Ignatius White, both of them lyving and eating in the same lodging in the lane next to the Courte. I told them I had no order what to doe in things of that nature and for mee to act not only without order but in a way different from his Maties

his career are given by Prof. Firth in the *Engl. Hist. Rev.* xii. 1897, p. 116, prefixed to his own "Confession and Discovery of his Transactions" as Intelligencer to the Commonwealth, which is preserved in the Record Office and appears to have been written in the hope of saving his life. He was elected member for Aylesbury in the Long Parliament about Oct. 1645, and also sat for Wycombe in the Parliaments of 1654 and 1659 and for Aylesbury in that of 1656. During the Commonwealth he was member of all the Councils of State and on 1 July, 1649, was appointed Government Intelligencer, a post which he held until the expulsion of the Long Parliament in 1653 and to which he was again appointed in 1659. As a staunch republican he was strongly opposed to the Protectorate, but after the fall of Richard Cromwell he was again elected to the Council of State and on 17 Jan. 1660, he was also made Secretary of State. Unfortunately for himself, he had not only signed the death-warrant of Charles I., but in one of the latest sittings of the Long Parliament before it was finally dissolved he defended the King's execution in a speech which was used against him at his trial. De Vic's letters supplement his own account of the circumstances of his surrender and also the statements in two pamphlets on the subject, viz.: "*A True Narrative . . . of the Apprehension of the Grand Traytor Thomas Scot, published by authority*," London, 1660, and "*Mr. Ignatius White his Vindication as well from all Imputations concerning Mr. Scot (of which affaire he doth give herein an exact, faithfull, and authentick account) as also from all other Reports raised of him through malice and ignorance during his Employments here in England* (see below p. 262) The part played by White was somewhat ambiguous. He seems at first to have aided Scot in his attempt to escape abroad, but to have done his best when his disguise was detected to induce him to give himself up to De Vic.

<sup>a</sup> Amman or Amtmann, a magistrate, alderman.

1660. declaration of pardon to all offenders, those only excepted which the parlement should except, of which wee had yet no knowledg, wold render mee liable to a censure of hauing beene less considerate then I ought to haue beene upon that occasion. Notwithstanding, I desird and aduisd them to gett as much certainty as they could what that person was, to haue an eye upon all his actions, to obserue where hee went and what persons did resorte vnto him, and to haue a speciall care hee might not so dispose of himself but that it might bee still in our power to lay hold on him, and all this without noise or bustle. Which being approud by them, I wondred to see Colonel Wuebanke come to mee some houres after in a greate heate, because, as hee saide, one Coomes,<sup>a</sup> an ayudant in the Kings regiment, whome they had engagd in the busines and [who] had the Amands warrant in his hands, had spoild it, hauing beene (contrary to their aduise and counsell) att this pretended Alisons lodging and there threatned to kill him, which caused a greate uproare, but which was quieted with Whites interuention, who did assure them hee was not the person they suspected him to bee and withall vndertooke hee should bee forthcomming upon all occasions. About two howres after an vnknowne person came to see mee, and it proud (as himself did tell mee) Ignatius White, who, after a greate compliment hee past with me upon his Mat<sup>ys</sup> happy restablisment, told mee that hee had beene sente into England from hence for the mutuall releasment of prisoners, which hauing effected General Munke had giuen him a letter to Admiral Montaigne to furnish him with a fregate to carry him to Ostende; where att his arriuell hee met with an old acquaintance of his (but whom hee had not seene of some moneths), whom hee called Alison, who desird him both to protect and direct him how hee was to gouern and dis-

<sup>a</sup> Capt. Henry Combe. In a petition for recognition of his services in the matter, Sept. 1660, he styles himself adjutant of the regiment of Guards in Brabant (*Cal. St. Pap.* 1670, Addenda, 1660-70, p. 649). His efforts to secure Scot are described in the first of the two pamphlets noticed above, p. 213.

1660.

pose of himself, which White undertaking and leauing him att Gaunte came to this towne to provide him a lodging against his comming, which ensued presently after. To which hee added that hee (White) had writen so much vnto Mr. Belinge; that the saide Alison had greate friends in England and General Munke in particular, who had undertaken to make his peace with the Kinge, and till that coulde bee effected the pretended Alison should keepe close, White taking upon him to represent him upon all occasions. This was the substance of what White told mee in his first visite. The second was much to that purpose, but with an addition of the reasons why he had taken the pretended Alison into his protection and direction, namely that hee might therby discouer his wayes, correspondencies and designes and make them knowne to his Maty, as hee had promised hee wold doe in his letter to Mr. Beling. Which when I seemd to approoue and to encourage him in that resolution, hee began to bee more free with mee and to tell mee that Alison had writen a letter to D. Alonso de Cardenas, which himself had carried and procurd what hee desird in it, namely a pasport from the Marquis de Caracena for Alisons going freely into Holland. Hee likewise acknowledged that hee had beene with the saide Alison to see Don Alonso de Cardenas; and did aske mee if Alison might not goe for Holland or some other place out of these countries, when hee should bee still as much att his (Whites) disposall as here, by reason of Alisons hauing no acquaintance att all besides himself, and all his addresses to and from England did pass by his hands and no other, nay hee was confident to preuaile so farr with Alison that with his consent hee might make a journey into England and stay in some place till hee came back againe vnto him. In all which when hee pressed mee to giue him my aduice, I excusd my self from doing it; only I told him that certainly hee wold haue Alison more in his power in this then another country, and hee knew best how much it imported him to bee able to performe what hee had engagd himself in, namely

f. 56.

1660. Alisons forthcomming; and that wold likewise reflect upon Don Alonso, who, best knowing what Alison was, wold bee thought to haue countenanced and contriued his escape, if hee, proouing to bee another then hee pretended to bee, should with a pasport himself (White) with D. Alonsos consent and assistance had procurd goe into another country. The next day I mett with White, who comming out of his coach I did likewise light, and so falling into discourse hee begann to make a greate complaint of some of his Mat<sup>ys</sup> officers and particularly Coomes, upon whose comming againe to Alisons lodging and threatning to kill him, sayinge it was a false name that hee tooke upon him and that hee was Scott, they had been forced to send for the Amand, to whome Alison hauing shewd the pasport hee had from the Marquis de Caracene the Amand had repeald the warrant hee had issued for his apprehending, wherby Alison was att liberty to doe what hee pleasd and bee dischargd of his engagement to present him upon all occasions, intimating that Alison was now gonne hee knew not whither. This White told mee as hee was going to Treueure, where vnderstanding afterwards that Coomes was gonne also I prayd Munson to know of him at his returne what had passed betweene the Marquis and him, which I could neuer learne for certaine because the next day Coomes left this towne, where hee hath neuer beene seene since that time, not without suspicion that hee hath beene taken of and sent out of the way. Only I am told that the ende of Coomes his going to Treueure was to lett the Marquis know that the person to whome hee had giuen a pasport was Scott and not Alison (which was but a fained name), att which the Marquis had used many a *Voto a Christo*, saying that hee was abusd, and promis'd to sett a garde upon Scott to secure him, but rather, as it hath prooud, that no violence should bee offerd to him then that hee might not goe away, as your Honour will see in the Marquis his letter to mee, which hath beene upon the way from Treueure to this towne from the 8<sup>th</sup> vnto yesterday the xi<sup>th</sup> about two a
- f. 56b.

clock that it came to mee vnder a couer, a note from Secretary Galaretta, the copy wherof your Honour will haue herewith and see therin their apparent jugling. Howsoever, had it not been for the precipitate and rash carriadg of Coomes, who neuer came vnto mee nor could bee perswaded to it, to acquaint mee with any of his proceedings, it wold haue beene harde but wee had lighted upon Scott and on Bamfield too, for it is thought hee was in Scotts company, his man hauing beene seene in this towne about Scots lodging; but they are both gonne from their lodging, from whence Coomes hath scard them, or rather these ministers haue putt them elsewhere since Thursday night. It is true that they giue out, and so much the Marquis declares in his letter to mee, that Scot is gonne out of the country; but, besides that the guardes of all the portes deny that on Thursday night any but a single courier wente out, it is very probable they are still in towne (though they may haue changed their lodging), att least in the country, and that these ministers wold not suffer persons to bee out of their reach and disposall with whome they haue had so longe and so greate a correspondency, but they haue them still in some sure place both for future vses and particularly that nothing doe come to light of what hath passed heretofore betweene them, wherin doubtless White is the man they most trust, notwithstanding his seeming deuotion to the Kings seruice and his profession that all he doth is in order to it, as your Honour will see in the letter hee did write vnto mee, wherof I sende you herewith the copy, in which what hee vndertakes hee certainly can performe, and I will not faile to press him to a performance with all the promises I can make him of returns and recompenses answerable to so greate a seruice, and especially if by his meanes that worthy gentleman Mr. Bamfield may bee putt likewise in such hands as his Maty will appointe. This, as I conceiue, is one only meanes (as things doe now stande) to catch both those apostles, and I know not whether White may not bee perswaded vnto it, especially if hee

1660.

f. 57.

1660. goe immediately, as hee doth pretend, for England. These I send your Honor by Mr. Howard, to whome I doe thinke more safe to trust this dispatch then to the ordinary messenger, by whome, if I can possibly (for I am tird with writing and going up and downe), I will write againe this euening. And so I humbly kiss your Honors hands and remaine

Your Honors  
most humble servant,  
DE VIC.

Brussels], this 12 June, 1660.

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SIR HENRY DE VIC.

RIGHT HOBLE,

f. 59.

I sente your Honor by Mr. Howard an ample relation of all passages touching Mr. Scott since his comming into this country, together with the coppies of the Marquis de Caracenes, Secretary Galarettes and Mr. Ignatius Whites letters to mee upon that occasion. I intended to haue yet enlarg'd myself on that subject upon Ayudant Coomes his comming to mee this afternoone and acquainting mee with what hee writes to my Lo. Gerrard upon that subiect, which I doe beleue is handled by diuers pens directed to seuerall persons. But I haue beene diuerted from it by a visitt which Mr. White made mee about one howre since, att which time, to make good his promise to mee in his letter and by worde of mouth, hee brought mee the letter from Mr. Scott of which your Honor will finde here the copy. Your Honor will see therin how, without any obligation (that I know of) to these ministers or to the violent and fierce prosecutions of some officers of his Matys troopes, but meerely to the conuiction of his owne conscience and the greate reputation of his Matys goodnes and clemency, joind to some vsefull endeuors of Mr. White (who hath proued herin what I did not expect from one of his fame), Mr. Scott doth offer to cast himself att his Matys feete to become

the subiect of his mercy, and to this effect to putt himself into my handes, expecting his Mat<sup>ys</sup> pleasure. Mr. White doth tell mee that this resolution of his is yet unknowne to the Marquis de Caracene and to Don Alonso de Cardenas, which will oblige mee to make a stepp tomorrow to Treueure to acquainte the Marquis with it, and [to procure] his allowance that the saide Mr. Scott shall bee henceforth att my disposall, to which purpose I doe keepe by mee the originall letter of Mr. Scott and sende you only the copy of it.

1660.

I am written unto from Ostende that diuers English prizes are daily brought thither, of which I spake to the Marquis de Caracene upon Twesday last att Treueure but gaue in no memoriall for it, both for wante of the names of the maisters of the shippes and of the shippes themselves, as likewise of their owners, but especially because I haue no order therin and the proclamation for the restablishment of the peace is not yet made, for which it were time that some day might be agreed upon to doe it respectively; and so in greate [haste] with much wearines I kiss your Honors handes.

Your Honors  
most humble servant,  
DE VIC.

Brussels, 12 June, 1660.

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THOMAS SCOT TO SIR H. DE VIC.

RIGHT HONORABLE,

12<sup>e</sup> Junij, 1660.

f. 60.

Hauing seene reason not longe since to withdraw from out of England and pretending to some little meritt by some honest endeauors for the crowne of Spayne, I chose to come to these partes, where being discouerd I obtained from the gouernment a protection for my person and a garde to conuey mee safe out of these dominions into some such place of neutrality and safety as I could designe, where now being, which, whiles I should haue

1660. remained in Brussels, perhaps wold not haue beene agreed to mee, that I am through the goodnes of God and att his pleasure maister of mine owne life, liberty and resolutions. Notwithstanding which, hauing heard very much of his Mat<sup>y</sup> the Kinge of Englands generosity, clemency and unreuengefull disposition, I haue chosen to cast myself att his Mat<sup>ys</sup> feete for his mercy and fauor euen before I know that I neede any; for to this howre, on the worde of a gentleman and a Christian, I haue not heard one syllable particular from England since my leauing it, nor know but by the Gazette that there will bee any persons excepted from the generall indemnity or, if any, whether I am or may bee one. Wherby (if God giue mee fauor in his eyes), as I shall haue the aduantage of safety and settlement in my natiue country with my relations, so his Mat<sup>y</sup> will haue a faire field to exercise his vertue in and an opportunity to settle the mindes of many thousands in his 3 kingdomes (in one kinde or other more or less obnoxious) and assure them by letting them see that, as his accession to the exercise of his Royall authority was peaceable and vnbloody, so hee will not open the sluice of blood againe where hee findes no fresh opposition, and especially vpon those who did oppose him openly and in faire warr, neuer maliciously or with despite, and who are willing to honor him so in the eyes of all nations as to place a confidence of this high nature upon [him] as to receiue life and safety from him as a guift.

Upon these and many other considerations it was in my heart to haue putt myself into your hands before I left Bruxels, but reuoluing that it might looke like an action of constraint and feare I thought it better to conuince his Mat<sup>y</sup>, the whole world and you that I was perfectly *mei juris* before I did it, and that an honourable esteeme of him and an inclination to liue vnder his gouernment, how meanely soeuer, rather then abroad, possibly in greater plenty and competent security, brought mee to his feete, where if I should miscarry—but I ought not to wound the honor of illustrious soules with unreasonable suspicions. Bee

pleased therefore to conuey your commands to mee by the worthy bearer, and you [will] finde them freely and faithfully performed by

1660.

Your very humble servant,

THO. SCOT.

The noble character which has beene giuen me of your greate goodnes and generosity giues mee confidence to hope you will please to doe mee none but good offices towards his Majesty (when you represent this affaire vnto him) and particularly to request that his Majesty may bee mooud not to hasten my return into England to the ende my friends there may haue the more time to manage their mediations on my behalf, and I may not through the multiplicity of greater concernments bee laide aside so long in some forgotten place or condition of restraint.

*Copy by De Vic.*

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SIR HENRY DE VIC.

RIGHT HO<sup>ble</sup>,

I pray you mooue his Mat<sup>y</sup> that hee wold bee pleasd in case that Mr. Scotts his estate bee forfeited some parte of it [may be assigned] for my future subsistence in recompense of the paines I haue taken, the dangers I haue runn in the taking and keeping of him. And so in extremity of haste,

f. 61.

Your Honors most humble seruant

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*Endorsed by Nicholas, 2<sup>o</sup> Junii, 1660, R. 21 Junii, S<sup>r</sup>. H. de Vic.*

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SIR HENRY DE VIC.

RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup>,

I wrote to your Honor upon Saturday last both by Mr. Howard and by the ordinary post of that day. . . . And now you will haue what the Marquis hath farther written vnto mee and I replied vnto it, with which I beleue writing will cease of

f. 62.

1660.

that matter, Mr. Scott hauing of himself putt himself entirely upon his Mat<sup>ys</sup> mercy and [resolved] to deliuer himself up vnto mee in expectation of his Mat<sup>ys</sup> pleasure. Which because hee could not performe without the Marquis his permission, who had not only commanded him out of the country but forbidden him to returne into it, I went yesterday to Treueure to desire it of him, which hauing graunted, since it is further requird, and I haue accordingly sent an expres, to haue a pasport in forme or a letter from the Marquis to the Gouuernor of Namur (for they say that Mr. Scott is in the country of Liege) to permitt his return hither. So your Honour sees I am like to haue suddainly a ghest, whome I doe intend to lodge in some parte of his Mat<sup>ys</sup> howse, where I am remoouing, vntil I receiue his Mat<sup>ys</sup> pleasure and commands touching his disposall, which I pray your Honor to procure mee as soone as possible may bee, for I am not fonde of such a charge nor the charges of it.

This day about noone I receiud your Honours first letter together with that of his Mat<sup>ty</sup> to the Marquis, to whome I sent it immediately with order to my expres to waite there for an answer to it, that if possible Don Antonio Remire (a person well knowne to his Mat<sup>ty</sup>), who is goinge to waite on his Mat<sup>ty</sup> in his way for Spayne and hath I beleeeue some message to deliuer vnto him from the Marquis, may carry his answere to his Mat<sup>ys</sup> letter. . . .

Of once (*sic*) Father Talbot, I meane the Jesuite, they haue no newes att all here since those of his being at Bourdeaux about a moneth since, whose mysterious voyage, if any but himself can doe it, my Lord of Bristol will vnfold, for hee is att Paris and hath sent some letters from thence hither to bee conueyed to Ghendt. And so I kiss your Honors hands and remaine

Your Honors most humble servant,

DE VIC.

Brux : this 15 of June, 1660, about midnight.

SIR HENRY DE VIC.

1660.

RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup>,

f. 72.

Don Antonio de Remires, a person well knowne to his Mat<sup>y</sup> and I doe belieue vnto my Lo. Lieutenant, comming to mee upon Tuesday last to desire my passeport, being, as hee told mee, to take England in his way for Spayne and to haue the honor to kiss his Mat<sup>y</sup>s handes, I thought fitt to write by him to your Ho<sup>r</sup> and to sende you what had passed betweene the Marquis and mee touching Mr. Scott since my last by the last ordinary. But now understanding that the saide Remire went for Antwerp and was like to stay there a day or two before hee went farther, I shall, as farr as I can remember, giue your Ho<sup>r</sup> the substance of what I wrote by him, namely, that hauing beene att Treueure upon Munday last and there acquainted the Marquis with Mr. Scotts offer, but withall that of himself (for so Mr. White had told mee) hee was not able to performe it without his (the Marquis) permission, who had not onely commanded him out of the country but forbidden him to returne into it, the Marquis did readily yield vnto it. Which when I had related vnto Mr. White, hee saide to mee that a verball permission wold not bee sufficient, but it wold bee necessary to haue either a formall pass or a letter from the Marquis to the Gouernor of Namur, by which place as Scot had past, so hee was to make his returne hither. Wherupon hauing sent an express with a letter to the Marquis, of which this particular did make a chief parte, hee made answer to the rest but no mention att all of Scots busines. . . . This I made knowne vnto Mr. White, who hauinge spoken of it to the Marquis att his returne to this towne, the Marquis saide it was meere forgetfulnes, but that hee had giuen order for a pasport, and that hee thought it was amongst other papers vpon his table for his signature. With this accompt Mr. White came to mee upon the 17<sup>th</sup> early in the morning, telling mee that himself was going in post to Mr. Scott, who (as hee pretended) was in the country of Liege. In the afternoone Mr. Whites

1660. brother the capitaine came to mee with an open note from his brother Ignatius to lett mee know hee was taking horse and desiring mee to putt the Marquis in minde of the pasport, wher-upon I sent to Secretary Zamora, who answerd that hee knew nothing of any such pasport but wold speake to the Marquis in it. The next day, which was yesterday morning, I went to the Audiencier (att whose office such things are dispatcht) and spake myself to him and his first officiall, but could heare no news of the pasport or of any order giuen by the Marquis for it; wher-upon I went to the Marquis howse, where finding the Comte of Mege, Gouuernor of Namur, and Don Antonio de la Cueua in seuerall watches att the gate, who returning told mee the Marquis was not to bee seene (and inded the gates were shutt and the porter had refusd them intrance), I went to the Comte de Mege and told him that the Marquis hauing promisd mee a pasport for an English gentleman named Scott, who was in the country of Liege, and fearing the pasport might not bee dispatcht soone enough for his occasions, I desird him to write vnto his Lieutenant that hee wold lett him pass, which hee promisd mee, saying that as hee went for Liege hee had likewise writen to his Lieutenant to use him with all ciuility and giue him all assistance. And the Comte was as good as his worde, hauing writen in it (as hee told mee in the afternoone) to his Lieutenant that very morning. Presently after dinner I went againe to the Marquis and founde the gates still shutt and no man sufferd to enter; but about half an howre after, passing by that way I mett with Don Alonso comming from the Marquis and hee going to dinner with his lady, by which I concluded that the case of the shutting vp of the Marquis gates and non admission vnto him was that hee might suffer no interruption in a confeence (which lasted many howres) betweene him and Don Alonso and probably about the resolution and answer to bee made vnt his Matys letter. Wherin hearing nothing from ye Marquis sinc his letter to mee of the 13, of which your Ho<sup>r</sup> will herwith find the

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copy, I wrote to him the last night that, the ordinary of England being to depart this evening, I desired him to lett mee know what accompt I should giue to his Ma<sup>ty</sup> of his letter to him. This so particular a relation of Scots busines I thought fitt to make, not only to shew my care and endeauors in his Ma<sup>ty</sup>s seruice, and withall that you might not bee abusd with idle impertinent informations many busy persons here may giue of it to their correspondents in England, but chiefly that you may know the proceedings of these ministers in that occasion.

As for the not answering his Ma<sup>ty</sup>s letter, considering how uery grateful and important the subiect therof is to these countries and of aduantage to the interest of the Kinge of Spayne, considering also how the Marquis himself told mee upon my going into Holland that the declaration of warr which the Kinge his maister had made was only against his Ma<sup>ty</sup>s rebels, it was to bee vnderstood that upon his Ma<sup>ty</sup>s returne into England and his subiects vnto his obedience there was a cessa-tion of warr to ensue—these particulars considered and the gracious and speedy offers his Ma<sup>ty</sup> makes therof by his owne letters, I should very much wonder att the least delay on this side, and if I doe not heare from the Marquis before the post goes away, or that hee hath sent some other way, I shall beginn to suspect that Remire is sent directly by him vpon this occasion to the frontier, if possibly hee may yet finde there the two greate ministers, who with the Comte of Fuensaldaigne were, as I heare, to continue some dayes together after the departure of the two Kings. And I doe the rather beleeeue that Ramire hath no intention to goe into England, and that the pasport hee desired of mee was only prouisionally against all occasions that may happen, because, when I saw him the morning hee went away, hee could giue mee no good accompt of the way hee meant to take, but spake something of Flushing and of his imbarcking there, but nothing explicitly and to the satisfying of any body that wold not impute the confusednes of his discourse to his

1660. want of the French language, in which hee is no greate maister. I pray your Honor to excuse these interlinings upon my remooual which I make this day to the Kings howse and the wante of a secretary, which I haue no meanes to keepe or indeed myself, besides the continuall persecution of my creditors. And so expecting to heare from your Honor how I am further to gouern my self in Scots business, if hee doe returne to this towne and putt himself in my hands in expectation of his Mat<sup>ys</sup> pleasure, I kiss your hands and remaine

Your Honors most humble servant,

DE VIC.

Br[ussels], this 19 of June, 1660.

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SIR HENRY DE VIC.

RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup>,

f. 74. I thinke it farr better to write to your Honor in a letter by it self of my personall concernments then to haue them beare a parte in my publick dispatches. I shall beginn with my mony busines, wherin I judgd it so unreasonable to mooue his Mat<sup>y</sup> before hee went from hence as I staide without speaking of it till hee had receiud a considerable summ and M<sup>r</sup>. Fox was returned from Breda with his Mat<sup>ys</sup> resolution and order towards the satisfaction of his seruants for the arreers that were due to them, and one yeare ouer. According to which M<sup>r</sup>. Fox hauing giuen mee a note upon M<sup>r</sup>. Shaw to pay mee my allowance of tenn pounds a moneth as it was regulated upon three years since, I was in hope hee had likewise order to pay mee my howse hire and some monies att least towards the satisfaction of my creditors, as I was told I should haue when there should come in any considerable summe of money, besides my foresaide monethly allowance; but hee told mee hee had receiud no order for it. Wherupon speaking to my Lord Chancelor att the Haghe his Lordship gaue order to M<sup>r</sup>. Fox to pay mee one hundred

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pounds more, which making up just what my howse hire comes vnto for two yeares and a half after the rate of 40<sup>ll</sup>. a yeare, I remaine without any meanes for to pay my creditors, who hearing of the greate summes of monny his Ma<sup>ty</sup> receiud there and since his entire restablishment are now more pressing then euer and impute to fraude in mee that which heretofore they attributed to the calamity of the times. And this is my condition in pointe of monny, to which I shall add that, beinge an humble suitor to his Ma<sup>ty</sup> when hee was att Breda that in consideration of my long and faithfull seruices and the ruine of my poore fortune and for the enabling of mee to ende my dayes in some comfortable way, hee wold bee pleasd to bestow upon mee either the prouostship of Eaton or St. Edward Wardors place, that is the clarkeship of the Pelz. Wherupon his Ma<sup>ty</sup> hauing commanded mee to giue your Honor a memoriall to putt him in minde therof in a fitter season, I conceiue the present to bee very proper, least I bee preuented, and therefore doe pray you to speake to his Ma<sup>ty</sup> in it, not doubting but both my Lo. Chancelor and my Lord to whome I spake of it will second mee and farther my humble request therin to his Ma<sup>ty</sup>, who I doe beleeeue to bee so fauorably enclind towards mee as hee will not suffer an old seruant that hath had so long and so greate a share in his afflictions not to bee betterd in his condition by his happy restablishment. I hope your noble lady is happily returnd to you, whome I pray to present with my humble respects. Yesterday I saw your tapistry a packing att Mr. Bedingfields, and it was shipped this day to goe with the Kings and the Duke of Yorks baggage upon tomorrow in the euening or on Munday morning, for which I haue procurd the Marquis his pasport and giuen it this day vnto Mr. Hemmington. And so I humbly kiss your hands.

Your Honors most humble servant,

DE VIC.

Bruxelles, this 19 June, 1660.

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SIR H. DE VIC.

RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup>,

f. 76.

I had just made an ende of writing my other letter when a messenger came to mee from the Marquis to desire mee to goe to him. It was to deliuer into mine owne hands the adioined in answere to his Mat<sup>ys</sup> letter, with whose contents hee acquainted mee, saying that hee was not only confind in matter of power within the limitts of his gouernment but there also to take the aduice of the other ministers in things of so greate importance. Hee spake with a greate deale of wonder as well as applause att his Mat<sup>ys</sup> incomparable reception, and uery much in his Mat<sup>ys</sup> commendation, wishing him all happines and prosperity, but seemed to bee something doubtfull of the affaires in Ireland. . . . The Marquis told mee hee had aduice from a friende of his att the Spanish Courte on the frontier that the Kinge his maister had namd some greate man to goe to the Kinge, but hee neither knew who it was nor whether to bee ordinary or extraordinary ambassador. If for the first, Don Stephen de Gamarra wolde bee much disappointed; for hee doth very much intrigue that employment. The Marquis spake to mee with some true or seeming amazement att Father Peeter Talbot his not appearing yet, and saide that since hee did stay so longe perhaps the bills which hee was to bringe wold bee sente vnto him; and the pagador askt mee about three dayes since if his Mat<sup>ty</sup> had giuen order to any to receiue that parte he had in them. Mr. Ignatius White is not yet returnd, but is expected hourelly, as his brother the captaine, who was just now with mee, tells mee. As soone as hee is returnd and hath left his charge with mee hee intends to goe presently for England. I beseech your Honor I may haue his Mat<sup>ys</sup> pleasure therin with the soonest, for such charges are nothing pleasant. And so I humbly kiss your hands.

Your Honors most humble servant,

DE VIC.

Bruxelles, this 19 June, 1660.

SIR H. DE VIC.

1660.

RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup>,

Upon Twesday last in the morning I receiued yours of the 8<sup>th</sup> and in them your owne and those others of his Mat<sup>ties</sup> Privy Counsels opinion, to whome you imparted what I had written to you the last weeke touching Mr. Scott, who being now in my hands since Munday last that hee came (accompanied with Mr. White and Mr. Maxwell, a reformed officer) and deliuerd himself up vnto mee vpon the termes of that proffer hee made in his letter to mee of which I sent your Honor the copy, I will doe all in my power for his safe keeping vntil I receiue his Mat<sup>ties</sup> further pleasure. But I must confess I finde myself in great streights as to that particular. For if I put him in a common prison, howsoever that may seeme to bee the most likely way to secure him, persons of authority here haue too greate an influence vpon the keepers and officers of such places and the keepers themselves are too corruptible to thinke him there out of danger. And as to the putting of guardes upon him, as some doe aduise and perhaps will make it matter of complaint if I doe not follow their counsells, I haue thought it not so proper for one who hath voluntarily putt himself into my hands and is upon his parole. After which to shew a distrust by acts of suspicion wold bee in a manner to free him from that obligation and putt him upon some desperate resolution, towards which I know not what conuience or assistance hee might receiue here from those who seeme to bee gladd and comply with his resolutions. Vpon these considerations I haue taken him into the Kings howse, where I haue remooued fowre or fiue dayes since, and putt him as in a convenient, so I thinke the safest, roome and where I suffer none to come and speake with him but Mr. White and Mr. Maxwell, who went for him as farr as Liege and from thence conducted him to mee, as I haue already saide. And this I pretende vnto him to bee for his good and safety, least (as I doe tell him) some ouer zealous and hasty persons should offer

f. 78.

1660. violence to him; with which hee is very well satisfied, seeming otherwise very well pleasd with a retir'd life and free from company, that hee may the better attend his deuotions, in which hee is very frequent, so that hee sees nothing in his treatment like a restraint, or that I rely upon anything but his parole, which though I beleue in one of his humor to bee a greate tie, yet I am not without using all other meanes which appeare not forcible and what precautions I can against his escape, if hee should attempt it.

As to engaging my self vnto him for his Mat<sup>ys</sup> pardon I should thinke to haue committed a very greate faulte if I should haue donne it of myself and without his Mat<sup>ys</sup> express order. All that I haue saide or written vnto him is that, as I beleue hee did not or doth yet expect that I should dispense with my duty to his Mat<sup>y</sup> and the discharge of my place in fauor of him, so hee might bee confident so farr as might bee consistent with it to receiue no other offices from mee but such as might rather farther and advance then any way hinder the effects of his Mat<sup>ys</sup> goodness and mercy. This is all the promise I haue made him or shall, less then which I could not doe, hauing beene so lately and so fiercely seard (as hee was) by the violent and heedles proceedings of persons less discrette and moderate then they might haue beene upon that occasion. Besides I saw little hope to perswade these ministers to suffer mee otherwise to bee maister of him within the limitts of the Kinge their maisters jurisdiction, but upon his owne voluntary free submission. And to speake the trueth, hee hath not desird any one fauor from mee then to bee a meanes that his going for England should not bee so hastned as his friends might not haue some time to intercede for him with his Mat<sup>y</sup>; the other that I wold conuey some letters of his to his friends. To the first I answerd that I did beleue that without any endeaouours of mine there wold bee time enough for what hee desird, but I could doe nothing in it, only I was to obey, and should precisely, such orders as I should therin receiue from

his Mat<sup>y</sup>. And as for the latter, when hee told mee the names of those friends of his to whome hee desird to write, namely my Lo. General, Mr. Secretary Morris and Mr. Hollis, I could not refuse him, both because of the quality of the persons and that perhaps it might bee conducing vnto his Mat<sup>ys</sup> seruice, besides that it was a further meanes to secure him, who in expectation of an answere to his saide letters (for I make accompt a chiefe part of them concernes himself) and in hopes they may bee preualent and effectuall wold not probably during that time vary from his first resolution. In the which the better to entertaine him, hauing shewed him his Mat<sup>ys</sup> proclamation, wherein a fortnights time is allowed to those horridd persons who are namd therein for their appearance, I suffer him without contradiction to make this inference, that without an implication it cannot bee that during that time there should bee any excepted persons, and I doe further assure him (as the trueth is and your Ho<sup>r</sup> knowes it) to haue seene a letter from a uery good hande that to the 8 of this moneth, the date of our last letters from London, they were not yet namd.

But to draw towards a conclusion, I find upon sundry discourses that I haue had with him and with Mr. White, that hee is acquainted with diuers things worth the knowledge and particularly of a certaine person or persons that had vndertaken to deliuer vp his Mat<sup>ys</sup> person to Cromwell, and others whome his Mat<sup>y</sup> did trust and employ who betrayd him; and that hee hath a greate power and interest in that which they call the Commonwealth party. Hee pretends that all he hath donne hath beene vpon principles which hee beleעד to bee good and true, namely that the supreme authority resided in the people, and upon that skore, when Cromwell attempted to make himself King, hee opposed him as vigorously as hee did the Kings reestablishment, though till then hee was his greate bosome friende; in fine that all he hath donne hath beene for no malice or interest. Touching his interest in the Spaniards and D.

1660. Alonso in particular I doe not perceiue it is to that degree which is apprehended but meerely upon the accompt of his hauing always thought, aduisd, nay promoted, as farr as hee could, a fast and firme friendship with a full and free intercourse and commerce betweene the English and them, which of all others hee thought of most aduantage to England. This hee saith and I doe beleue in parte, but with all that the conditions and dependances of it must haue imported no good to the Kings restablishment. Whatsoever bee the cause therof, I am of opinion that according to their old maxime not easily to abandon their declared friends, of which number this Mr. Scot was in the time of the late troubles, these ministers would not only haue afforded him their protection but meanes to subsist with his family in some place where they might haue had him att their command and disposall upon all emergent occasions. For which reason, howsoever his Mat<sup>y</sup> shall thinke fitt to order his going for England in pointe of time, I suppose that Dunkerke wold bee a fitter place then this towne wherin hee might waite and expect his Mat<sup>ys</sup> pleasure. I shall close those points with what the Marquis de Caracene saide yesterday to mee when I told him that Mr. Scott had putt himself in my handes, namely that hee was uery gladd of it for that amongst other reasons that his Mat<sup>y</sup> might enquire, nay require, of him to declare if euer to his knowledg there had passed any thing or treatie betweene these ministers or any other of his Cath. Mat<sup>y</sup> and those of England in preiudice of that treatie which was here concluded betweene his Mat<sup>y</sup> and the Kinge of Spayne by their respectiue Commissioners.

Wee haue here a letter from Paris brought by the last post which tells us that Mr. Peeter Talbot had beene there and was gonne for England the 18 of this moneth (as I take it), hauing first sent hither the bills which hee brought from Spayne, with which when I acquainted the Marquis hee did pretend not to know it, and withall did aske mee with whome his Mat<sup>y</sup> had

left order to receiue that part which was destind for him. I answerd that I knew not, but, if any, Mr. John Shaw was the likeliest person, as one whome his Ma<sup>ty</sup> had emploide in the like monny occasions. 1660.

As I was comming out of the Marquis his howse I mett with one who hath alwayes held a constant intelligence att Dunkerke, who told mee hee had receiud letters from thence that they of Dixmuyde and Furne had beene there to offer the paiment of their contributions, but that the successor of Locker, calld, as hee saide, Harley, had refusd to receiue them because of the peace betweene England and these countries, which was now restablished. And this makes mee call to minde what I heretofore intended but forgott to write to your Ho<sup>r</sup> of, which is that I thinke it very important for his Ma<sup>ty</sup>s seruice that order were giuen to the Commandant att Dunkerke (in what quality soeuer) that betweene him the said Commandant and mee there might bee a strict and free correspondence, and perhaps, if not the present, the future coniuncture of affaires may shortly require it. . . .

I will shutt up all by acquainting your Ho<sup>r</sup> that I vnderstand from Mr. White and Mr. Maxwell there is some vnknowne person att Liege which came thither from Maestrich, supposed to bee Commissary Lille<sup>a</sup>; and I am likewise told of some others that are att Ghend and Ypre which did fly out of England upon his Ma<sup>ty</sup>s happy returne thither. It were therefore requisite that I might know his Ma<sup>ty</sup>s pleasure if I shall use any meanes for the seizing of them, if they shall prooue to bee such as are obnoxious to that degree to his Ma<sup>ty</sup>. But in that case it were necessary I should receiue no disturbance from such as, vnder pretence of affection and zeale to his Ma<sup>ty</sup>s seruice, are the greatest impediments to it. And so beseeching your Ho<sup>r</sup> I may haue a speedie answere vnto these particulars, and if this bearer

<sup>a</sup> John Lisle the regicide, Commissioner of the Great Seal. He escaped to Switzerland, but was shot dead at Lausanne by a Royalist 11 Aug. 1664.

1660. Mr. Munson shall pass through (for perhaps att his arriuall at Dunkerke hee will finde such a conueniency as hee shall not neede to goe further, I meane a conueniency for a safe and speedie conueyance of this packet), that you wold bee pleasd to returne him with what speede you may, particularly with his Mat<sup>ys</sup> orders for the disposall of Mr. Scott, for I can bee att no rest till I bee deliuerd of him.

When I entred upon that busines with Mr. White it was with as much caution and warines, and with as preiudiciall an opinion of him as could bee; but in the progress (some few disguisements att the first excepted) I cannot but say that hee hath carried himself (for anything I know to the contrary) very fairely and with affection to his Mat<sup>y</sup> in this occasion, hauing assurd mee when hee went for Mr. Scott that hee wold bring him dead or alieue (to use his owne words), and, to say the trueth, without the concurrence of Mr. White, who confirmd Mr. Scott in his resolution to putt himself into my hands, it had not probably come to pass.

If your Hor hath not sent mee already his Mat<sup>ys</sup> pleasure and directions touching Mr. Scott, I beleue Mr. Munson will bee a fitt person to attend and conduct him where his Mat<sup>y</sup> will appoint. And so I humbly kiss your Ho<sup>rs</sup> hands and remaine

Your Honors most humble servant,

DE VIC.

Brux. : 24 June, 1660.

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SIR H. DE VIC.

RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup>,

- f. 82. Upon Thursday last I sente a gentleman called Mr. Munson to Dunkerke and, as there should bee cause, for London with a dispatch to your Honor longe and particular enough to haue saued mee the labor of writing so shortly after; but lighting since on a letter (att least intended to bee so) which relates to Mr. Scotts

story I thought fitt to sende a copy of it vnto you attended with these few lines to bee in the nature of a postscript vnto my former. It was taken up att a village by Liege, where Mr. White enuited Mr. Scott (then att Liege) to come vnto him, and I doe beleue it dropped from Mr. White, who was in perplexity and had busines enough in his head att that time to be excusd if hee did not with circumspection sufficient attend euery particular that hee saide or did. Your Ho<sup>r</sup> sees in it the authors name, who is Mr. Bamfields seruant, and apparently it was written to Bamfield and putt into Mr. Whites hands for conueyance, who may haue withheld it for reasons best knowne to himself, amongst which 'tis probable Mr. Bamfields imprisonment, whereof the prints of the last weeke doe make mention, may haue been one, and perhaps the most important. The monnies that are spoken of in it, and which to receiue Mr. Bamfields man came ouer, are probably for some disbursements or engagements concerning the Spanish prisoners lately released, made either by Mr. Bamfield alone or jointly with Mr. White, who is an earnest sollicitor to haue them repaide, and which as soone as hee doth receiue hee will goe for England, for hee doth long to bee there, fearing that others as actiue as hee may take his employment from him, att least render him less considered by shewing themselves as greate crafte maisters as hee in those things wherin hee did pass, and wold still (if hee might), for the all and onely sufficient.

Upon Thursday last came an express to this towne from the Spanish frontier, where hee saith both the Kings had parted upon the 8<sup>th</sup>, and the two greate ministers were to continue vntil the 13. The letters hee bringes confirme that some person of quality is designd to bee sente Ambass. from the Kinge of Spayne to his Ma<sup>ty</sup>., but to bee preceded by some Enuoyé which had beene already on the way; but that Mr. Montaigne desird it should bee differde till one which the King had sent were come to his Catholick Ma<sup>ty</sup>. This the Marquis de Caracena did tell

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me, which that I might not mistake I repeated after him, and hee approovd of my repetition and withall deliuerd mee the adioined for his Mat<sup>y</sup>. The outside is from the Marquis and contains, besides one of his owne, a letter to his Mat<sup>y</sup> from the King of Spayne to congratulate the greate aduance towards his restablishment when hee was yet att the Hagh. Don Luis de Haro had also writen to the same effect, but the letter (they doe not know by what mischance) haith miscarried. This I haue also from the Marquis, and that the bills for one hundred thousand crownes are att length come to his handes; of which how hee shall dispose as to that parte which his Mat<sup>y</sup> hath in them, hee desires to know his Mat<sup>ys</sup> pleasure. . . . The Marquis told mee that his Mat<sup>ys</sup> parte in the 100<sup>m</sup>. crownes come to about 55<sup>m</sup>., which if his Mat<sup>y</sup> doe receiue I humbly beseech him that [hee] wold bee pleasd to allow mee wherewithall to pay my debts and enable mee to appeare as his Resident, for it is not for his honor now that by Gods blessing he is in Whitehall it should seeme by mee hee were still at Bruxels, where I am in the same miserable condition as before. And so in uery greate haste I humbly kiss your Ho<sup>rs</sup> handes and remain

Your Honors most humble servant,

DE VIC.

For Gods sake deliuer mee of Mr. Scott, for this is the fift night of my watching.

Bruxelles, this 26 June, 1660.

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H. CHURCHMAN TO COL. BAMPFIELD.

HONORD MASTER,

f. 84.

. . . . Here hath another sadd misfortune befallen Mr. Allison. On Saturday last, being the morrow after his comming to this

<sup>a</sup> Marginal note by Nicholas.

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towne, desiring to walke in the parke [he] was there discouered by Sr. William Perciuall and Colonel Eubank and watcht to his lodging, and on Munday last apprehended with a warrant from the chiefe magistrate of this place by the officers of y<sup>e</sup> Kings Regiment, who (had not Mr. White most fortunately come in at the instant) had carried him away. But hee engaged for his forthcomming and gott his protection, and workt so with the Marquis of Caracena that hee securd him out of their hands, who threatned to murder him, if they could catch him, and Mr. White for protecting him. Neuertheless Mr. White, not being daunted att their threats, pursued the busines so that he procured a garde of horse to conuoy him to some place of security till such time as his friends in England might mediate for his peace with the Kinge, hee being resolu'd to cast himself att the Kings feete and in order to that hath writt to Sir Henry De Vic (which I suppose will bee deliuerd this night) to protect him here till his Mat<sup>ys</sup> pleasure may bee knowne concerning him. Hee desires the general may be sollicitd by you and friends to mooue the King in his behalf with all speed. Wee saw him safe out of these partes yesterday morning and I hope hee is safe where he was sent, whither t'was I know not. Mr. White sent his man with him. I'll assure you Mr. White hath donne verry nobly and friendly by Mr. Allyson, for had hee not beene a most faithfull friend vnto him and one whose interest is exceeding greate in this courte, hee had beene a lost man, for the officers here are terribly enrag'd att him; but I trust hee will bee safe either by the protection of Sir Henry De Vic or (if hee refuse it) where hee is till his peace bee made, which I wish may be speedie least other inconueniences interuene, for I perceiue there is little security to bee expected in these partes, and I could gladly wish my busines were donne that I were with you, for I haue no delight in staying here. I haue not beene out of doores since Sunday. My voyage hitherto hath beene but vnfortunate and vncomfortable. God graunte the latter parte may bee more

1660. succesfull then the beginning. To contribute my vtmost endeauors to the performance wherof shall bee the care and studdy of

Your most humble  
and most obedient servant,  
HAR. CHURCHMAN.

*Copy by De Vic, and enclosed in his letter of 26 June.*

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SIR H. DE VIC.

RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup>,

- £ 86. I hope that this post, whose comming wee doe expect euery moment, will deliuer mee of my troublesome ghest, for so hee hath beene vnto mee for eight dayes now past, in all which time I haue not beene in quiet least hee should make his escape, though to diuert him from any such thoughts I haue vsed him with all kindnes and rather saide things a farr of that might confirme then weaken his persuasions of obtaining pardon. How hee passeth his time this bearer, Mr. White, who helpt him away with some parte of it, will best enforme your Ho<sup>r</sup>. And therefore leauing all things that doe concern Mr. Scott vnto his relation, I shall onely acquaint you that yesterday in the afternoone my Lo. Crofts, who came hither the night before, went with Mr. Jermyn for France, and, as I am told, the Earle of Castelhauen with them. I went with them to see the Marquis de Caracene, who then repeated vnto mee that which hee had saide the night before, that the bills from Spayne for the Kings monnies were come (and they are it seemes the thirde bills), desiring mee to lett his Ma<sup>ty</sup> know so much and how hee wolde bee pleasd to dispose of them; wherein telling him I wold know his Ma<sup>ty</sup>s pleasure I humbly beseech your Ho<sup>r</sup> to mooue his Ma<sup>ty</sup> that [he] wold bee pleasd to assigne mee some considerable parte of them to pay my debts and putt mee in a better equippage then hee left mee, for I haue writen to your Ho<sup>r</sup> in my former what is

1660.

my condition, for which reason, and that it is not so longe since wee parted but you may remember it, I shall forbear the repeatinge of a story which to tell I haue little comfort or pleasure. It is true the table charges of Mr. Scott are not verry greate, for I doe not feaste him, but some encrease of expenses it cannot but bee, besides those that I am att for persons to watch him. I haue also giuen Mr. Munson a hundred florins for the charges of his journey for England, and if his Mat<sup>y</sup> doe commande that Mr. Scott shall bee sent for England (as I hope hee will by this poste), I know not how to performe it vnles there is order taken for monnies to beare the charges of that conduct, which will bee costly. All which I doe pray your Ho<sup>r</sup> to represent to his Mat<sup>y</sup> and humbly beseech him that hee wold bee pleasd to conferr upon mee some parte of Mr. Scott his estate, if it bee proceeded to a confiscation of it. And so I humbly kiss your Ho<sup>rs</sup> handes, desiring you to furnish Mr. Munson with monny for his returne and that I may know by him his Mat<sup>ys</sup> pleasure in those particulars which I mentiond in the dispatch which I sent you by him.

Your Honors most humble servant,

DE VIC.

Br. 27 June, 1660.

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SIR H. DE VIC.

RIGHT HO<sup>b</sup>le,

. . . . This morning I haue receiud yours of the 15 and am verry sorry that I haue no order in them for Mr. Scotts disposall, for, though I doe not perceiue any disposition in him to goe from mee and that I doe all I can to entertaine it in him, I cannot possibly bee att quiet so longe as hee is with mee, which I hope will bee of no longe continuance, but that your Ho<sup>r</sup> vpon the dispach I made vnto you by Mr. Munson will signify vnto mee his Mat<sup>ys</sup> pleasure for his remouall, att least, if it should bee thought fitt hee should remaine here longer, [that] I may not bee answerable for such accidents as might happen. I could make

f. 87.

1660. this letter something longer, but I haue made Mr. White stay already so longe as I am afraide that hee may bee departed before this comes to him. And so I humbly kiss your handes and remaine

Your Honors most humble servant,

Br. this 28 June, 1660.

DE VIC.

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SIR E. NICHOLAS TO SIR H. DE VIC.

SIR,

London, 22 June (2 July), 1660.

f. 77. I haue receiued yours of y<sup>e</sup> 24 and 26<sup>th</sup> instant, and his Mat<sup>ie</sup> and Councell having been made acquainted with what you write concerning Mr. Thomas Scot, his Mat<sup>ie</sup> by y<sup>e</sup> advise of y<sup>e</sup> Boorde hath herein sent you his order for your present sending of the said Mr. Scot safe to Dunkerke, where you are to cause him to be delivered into the handes of the Gouvernor, to whom the Lord Gen<sup>l</sup> Monk hath sent orders to receaue and deteyne him prisoner till further order, soe as you will thereby be eased of the care of that your charge, which his Mat<sup>ie</sup> hath well approued of.

The House of Commons haue now a Bill passing for granting tonnage and poundage to his Mat<sup>ie</sup> for lief, which was neuer granted to the late King, and the refusing to passe that grant was indeed a principall cause of the disorders and miseries of our nation. But now that block of offence wilbe remoued, soe as wee haue reason to hope to enioye a happy and lasting peace. The 2 houses of parliament doe on all occasions pay all duty and obedience to his Mat<sup>ie</sup>, and, vnlesse it be some few factious spiritts who are not much considerable, all sort of people as well in citty as country and in y<sup>e</sup> parliament striue to excede each other in paying their duty and expressing their singular affection to his Mat<sup>ie</sup>.

Its believed that there will noe more of those miserable wretches that sate in iudgement on the late King come into your partes, but if there shall, you shall doe well to secure their persons, if you

can. There hath not yet bene any person here for the K. of Spain, neither would there soe soon any arrive. I am commanded by his Mat<sup>ie</sup> to send you herin a copy of an agreement dated 2<sup>o</sup> May, 1660,<sup>a</sup> between the Marquis of Caracena and Gen<sup>ll</sup> Monke concerning prisoners taken on each side, which it seemes is of late refused to be observed by y<sup>e</sup> admiralty of Oastend, as by y<sup>e</sup> copy of a paper sent hither you will perceive. His Maiesties command is that you forthwith repair to Marquis Caracena and presse him to cause the said agreement to be duly observed on that side as it hath bene, and his Mat<sup>ie</sup> will [under]take it shalbe, on this side. It will not be here believed that any admiralty in Flanders dares disobey the said Marquises orders in a business of that publique nature wherein his masters and his owne honour is soe much concerned, and therefore, as you are to presse it home to him, soe his Maiestie expects and doubts not but to have a due and firme performance of that agreement from his Excellencie, whereof you are by your next to send hither an account.

*Endorsed by Nicholas, Coppy of my letter to Sr. H. de Vic, etc.*

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SIR H. DE VIC.

RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup>,

. . . . I am still in expectation of his Mat<sup>ys</sup> orders for the disposall of Mr. Scott, for whose safe keeping in a strange country it cannot bee but a greate trouble and vnquietnes of minde to mee that I should bee answerable for so many dayes. For my parte I haue donne and will [do] all that is possible for mee in it, hopinge that either Mr. Munson or att the furthest the next ordinary will ridd mee out of this perplexity I am in upon his occasion. And so I humbly kiss your handes and remaine

Your Honors most humble servant,

Brux. 3 July, 1660.

DE VIC.

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<sup>a</sup> For an abstract of this agreement see *Cal. St. Pap.* 1659-60, p. 656.

1660.

SIR H. DE VIC.

RIGHT HO<sup>ble</sup>,

f. 90.

I haue represented vnto you in my former my present condition, with which I doe make no question you haue already or will quickly make the Kinge acquainted. Not knowing how it may stand with his Ma<sup>ty</sup>s pleasure if I shall continue here for a while to putt an ende to such busines as hee may conceiue I may bee of use vnto him in or els to call mee home presently, I dare not mooue in one or the other. If the first, I hope his Ma<sup>ty</sup> will appointe mee something to subsist withall, to enable mee to pay my debts and putt mee in a better equippage; if the other, hee will likewise giue order for monies to bee sent vnto mee to goe from hence with credit, enable mee to pay my debts, to beare the charges of my transportation and something ouer, and provide mee with some place or meanes for my subsistence.<sup>a</sup> I haue fixed on two places for which I desired you to mooue his Ma<sup>ty</sup>, and in case that could not bee that his Ma<sup>ty</sup> wold bestow upon mee some parte of Mr. Scott his estate upon confiscation of it; wherein I beseech you to loose no time least that others may preuent mee in it. And as for the paying of my creditors, etc., I likewise beseech you to bee a meanes that his Ma<sup>ty</sup> wold allott mee some considerable sume of monny out of the bills of exchange that are come from Spayne for his accompt, to bee deducted upon my ordinary entertainment and the arrears that are due to mee for it. In all which or parte of the premisses I hope that my Lo. Chancelor or my Lo. High Steward or both will bee my friends, if their other greate occasions will permitt them to remember mee or make my poore interests to haue any parte in their thoughts or recommendations. All which I doe leaue to your Ho<sup>rs</sup> managery; for I am yet in the darke where to make any applications but where they are proper, that is to

<sup>a</sup> In Sept. 1660 he was appointed Secretary for the French tongue and Chancellor of the Order of the Garter.

1660.

yourself both in respect of your place and friendship, on which I doe chiefly rely for all my concernments. I heare there is an intention to take mourning for the late Kings death, which will require some charge for myself and seruants, nor doe I thinke it is not considered that Mr. Scott hath putt mee to more then ordinary expenses, both for his diett and the guardes I doe keepe upon him day and night, the dispatch of Mr. Munson, and will putt mee vnto greater for his remooual and transportation. I know you are all uery full of busines, and therefore I wold not willingly call so soone upon you, but necessity hath no law. These I write vnto your Ho<sup>r</sup> in particular as to my good friende, leauing vnto you to take your time and vse such meanes as you shall thinke fittest, and so with my humble respects to your noble Lady

I remaine  
Your Honors most humble servant,  
DE VIC.

I haue and doe sende Mr. Scotts letters to your colleague, for so hee desires it, because hee is his acquaintance and I doe beleue you are not offended that it should bee so.

Brux. 3 July, 1660.

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SIR H. DE VIC.

RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup>,

I haue receiued your Ho<sup>rs</sup> of the 22 of June and with them the Kings commande for the sending of Mr. Scott for Dunkerke, there to bee putt into the hands of the Gouuernor of the place or his deputy. I could haue wisht Mr. Munson or some other here had beene appointed to conduct him thither, for, as I thinke, it is not intended that guards only should attend him without some discreete faithfull person to take care of him, so it was not my desire that the choice of such a person had beene left vnto mee. But since it is otherwise, I could thinke on none that in my

f. 92.

1660. opinion is more proper for that service then Capt<sup>ne</sup> Maxwell, who with Mr. White did bringe Mr. Scott from Liege, for hee is a valiant, carefull, sober person, and who doth profess a speciall deuotion to his Ma<sup>tyes</sup> service, of which hee hath giuen good prooffe upon this occasion, not only in bringing hither the saide Mr. Scott, but in watching him most parte of the time since hee came hither. To his conduct therefore I committ him, and hee goes tomorrow, God willing, for Ghendt with Mr. Scott, attended with two men in the waggon and three guardes (reformed officers, which the Marquis de Caracena hath giuen mee) on horseback to waite on him as farr as Dunkerke. Hee hath now beene with mee full 17 dayes, during which time none haue come vnto him but Mr. Maxwell and Mr. White. Hee hath beene abroad with mee alone thrice, that with more conueniency some bolts and other instruments of security might bee sett upon diuers windowes and doores in the howse, for, though hee hath thought himself vnder no manner of restraint, hee hath beene shutt up euery night and both night and day watcht by diuers persons besides my self, who haue not had one howre of quiett rest since hee hath beene with mee, whome hee hath left in debt of forty pounds sterling for one hundred florins I gaue Mr. Munson for his journey into England and two hundred florins and more which Mr. Maxwell and two men, the three reformed officers, haue already had of mee towards their charges, besides his owne diett and the charge of gardes to watch him euery night whilst hee hath beene here.

I will ende Mr. Scots story with his confession and what I haue heard him say for himself att sundry times in discourse, namely hee acknowledgeth to haue with vigour, industry and constancy acted for the party (as hee calld it) of the common wealth, not for interest or malice but upon a full (though erroneous) persuasion that the supreme authority did reside in the people. Hee doth add that the late King (of blessed memory) was fought with, diuers chiefe persons putt to death,

and that it was vouted his Mat<sup>y</sup> taking up armes against the parlement amounted to a dissolution of his gouuernment, before hee (Mr. Scot) came into the parlement or acted against his Mat<sup>y</sup>; that hee did not giue his consent to the secluding of the members of parlement, nor likewise to the fetching of his Mat<sup>y</sup> from the Isle of Wight; that since Cromwell assumed and euen pretended vnto the protectorship, much more the kingship, hee hath opposd him with all his might (though hee was before his bosome friende) no less, nay rather more, then the Kinge, declaring him openly the greatest usurper and tyrant that euer was; that hee protested openly against his Major Generals, detested the act of decimation of the Kings party, and mooued that another act of obliuion might bee issued in their behalf; that hee declard publikely, if the nation were to bee gouuerned by a single person, it was better it should bee the Kinge, who had certainly more right vnto it then any other; that in hope the Holland ambassadors (who demanded and had audience vpon that occasion) might haue preuaild with Cromwell and the Parlement to forbear the Kings execution, hee putt of the signing of the warrant for it about 24 howres after all the others had signd it. And so leauing him to stand or to fall to his owne maister I thinke to haue giuen a sufficient accompt of Mr. Scott.

As for that which his Mat<sup>y</sup> doth expect of mee concerning the prisoners att Ostende, all I can say in it [is] that the uery day I receiud your Ho<sup>rs</sup> letter I had audience of the Marquis de Caracene and gaue him a memoriall upon it, but without any positieue answere, which I saw hee wold haue declind by putting it of upon the cessation of armes. But I told him that my demande was grounded upon the agreement made betweene him and the Lo. General Munke, of which hee thought I had not bene informd. Before hee goes out of towne, which I heare will not bee till Saturday or Sunday next, I shall againe, God willing, waite upon him and giue your Ho<sup>r</sup> a further accompt by the

1660. ordinary of Saturday next. . . . And so in extreme haste I humbly kiss your Ho<sup>rs</sup> hands and remaine

Your Honors most humble and  
most faithfull servant,

DE VIC.

Brux. this 7 July, 1660.

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SIR H. DE VIC.

RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup>,

f. 96. One of my seruants whome I had sente with the guardes that attended Mr. Scott being returned from Dunkerke with letters from the Deputy Gouuernors there, wherein they acknowledg that Capt<sup>ne</sup> Maxwell had safely deliuerd him into their hands, there is, I hope, as to mee an ende of that troublesome busines. As for the monnies that I haue disbursd upon that occasion, I thought your Ho<sup>r</sup> had beene sufficiently informd of my present ill condition to beleue that I could without incommodity make such disbursements, but in accidents of that importance persons of my zeale to his Mat<sup>ys</sup> seruice doe beyond abilities, especially in times of an expectation of a speedie and present supply. If I regarded (I will not say) my conueniencies, but euen my urgent necessities, a considerable summe of monny wold bee but sufficient for it, my debts onely amounting vnto neare 8 hundred pounds sterling, and most of them very crying and pressing debts; to which if I add my being still in the same condition you left mee, wholly vnprouided of all necessaries to appeare but very soberly, nay meanely, in my quality upon his Mat<sup>ys</sup> happy reestablishment, your Ho<sup>r</sup> may easily ghesse att what may bee needfull for mee, and accordingly bee pleased to mooue his Mat<sup>ty</sup> for a supply for mee, if no other way, at least out of the Spanish monies before they bee applied to some other, perhaps not more proper, vses, considering my employment here and that the small summes I receiud was alwayes out of such

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payments. The Marquis de Caracene being gonne from hence when I receiued your Ho<sup>rs</sup> of the 29 of the last, I could make my addresses to him but by writing, and accordingly I sent him a letter, wherof your Ho<sup>r</sup> will herewith receiue a copy, concerning the prizes made by the Ostenders upon the Kings subjects. What hee will haue donne therin I shall know att his returne. In the meantime I haue spoken with the chiefe of the Amiralty here, who tell mee in confidence that the armors<sup>a</sup> of Ostende complaine verry much of their being debarrd from going to sea, and press they may haue permission for it till the peace bee published, but they of the Amiralty haue remitted them to y<sup>e</sup> Marq. de Caracene. . . .

Touching Mr. White and the frendship betweene him and mee, it is verry young if there bee any, hauing neuer seene him till this occasion of Mr. Scott, nor heard of him but in termes that gaue mee no greate cause to loue or to like him. For I haue no other friendes but Cæsar and Cæsars friends, of which I feare hee was neuer guilty. Howsoever, to giue the deuill his due, I must say hee hath beene of vse in that busines, but to what degree and with what intention I know not for certaine; but I doe conceiue it was more to serue his owne turne and to make his owne peace or recouer his lost reputation by such an atonement then in order to the Kings seruice.

The Marquis de Caracene returnd yesterday from Ostende. . . . His Secretary, whome I mett in the way as I came from the boate to my howse, assures mee that upon the receipt of my other letters hee gaue order presently that the English prisoners att Ostend should bee releasd. And so I kiss your Ho<sup>rs</sup> hands and remaine

Your Honors most humble servant,  
DE VIC.

Brux. 17 July, 1660.

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<sup>a</sup> Privateers, Fr. armateurs. The word is not given in the *New Engl. Dict.*

1660.

SIR H. DE VIC.

RIGHT HO<sup>ble</sup>,

f. 186.

Since mine to your Ho<sup>r</sup> of Wensday last I haue had some conference with a person that knowes much of busines both here and in Spayne, who was uery earnestly inquisitiue of mee what I thought of the match betweene the Duke of Aniou<sup>a</sup> and our Princess. I told him that, knowing no more of it then what the publick report had taught mee, it was impossible for mee or any man els not more enlightned then I was to make any judgment of it. Hee continued and saide hee wondred uery much that the Kinge wold marry her so soone, that there was time enough for it, nay that to protract it a while wold bee more for his aduantage, and therfore out of his affection to the good of his Matys affaires hee did heartily wish that his Maty wold diferr to take any resolution in it, intimating that there was some other with whome to match wold bee more to his Matys accompt, though hee could not yet bee more particular with mee in it. I persisted still in my plea of ignorance of any thing donne or intended in it, but withall I told him that the Kinge could not hinder the Duke of Aniou or any other prince to bee in loue with his sister, or desire to bee so nearely allied with so greate a Kinge, and as for the rest I was uery willing to know no more then himself thought fitt to imparte vnto mee, but if hee meant by the person whome hee did conceale that of the Emperour (for of him it was likewise saide that hee was a suitor for the princess), for my parte I did not beleeeue it, it being against the late custome of the howse of Austria (for the perpetuating of their union) not to match but amongst themselves. To this (which I saide of designe to unlock him) hee replied by a deniall of that custome and instanced in the match betweene the last King and the Infanta, which was really, as hee saide, intended by the

<sup>a</sup> Philippe, only brother of Louis XIV. He was created Duke of Orleans in 1660 and married Henrietta, only sister of Charles II., 30 March, 1661.

Kinge of Spayne, but hinderd by the Earle of Bristol. Of which not allowing, and neither of vs desiring to make it a matter of altercation, wee fell upon the particular of Mon<sup>r</sup>. de Rouignis<sup>a</sup> employment, which hee tooke occasion from to aske mee if hee were lodged att Courte? I told him I knew nothing of it and though hee were, being as hee was brother in law to my Lord Treasurer, it might uery well bee that upon that particular accompt his Lo<sup>p</sup>, who had lodgings att Courte, might haue spard him a part of them.

And now, though I bee but just now returnd from Antwerp and uery much streightned in time, because that the post doth beginn this day to goe away sooner by 12 howres then hee was wont, I shall notwithstanding freely tell your Ho<sup>r</sup> some speculations of mine (but which I desire not should goe further), namely, that, whatsoever I had heard before and from uery good handes that the King of Spayne should desire the match with the Duke of Aniou should goe forward because it might bee a meanes and occasion of new broiles in France, I could mee thinke reasonably gather from this discourse that his ministers doe not only not desire it but that they wold vnder culor of another match impede it, either in order to promote the Cardinals supposed designes to hinder the same (wherof what I heard I gaue your Ho<sup>r</sup> aduice in my last) or out of a jealousy that by this meanes wee might peece againe with France. Concerning the first, it is uery true that betweene the Cardinal and the chiefe ministers of the Kinge of Spayne (att least it is so giuen out) there is a uery greate vnderstanding, which to strengthen such offices for promoting of mutuall interests are uery greate enducements; and to this hindering of the match with the Duke of Aniou by a diuersion might uery well be endeauord by the Spaniards by concurrence and concert with the Cardinal in fauor of his supposed intendments. But there want not reasons for

<sup>a</sup> Henri de Massué, Marquis de Ruigny. His sister Rachel was married in 1634 to Thomas Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, now Lord Treasurer, and died 16 Feb. 1640.

1660. the latter, it being verry certaine that the unexpected and (as they say) vnderesued admitting to audience and afterwards vnto treatie of the Portugal ambassador doth so lie vndigested in their stomach as raises fumes capable to disturb their reasons to such a degree as to carry them to meditate on wayes of resentment, especially if the distance betweene us and Spayne should continue. But you will bee able to iudg of this matter by what you haue from Madrid; and if, besides the knowne reason of want of monny, the newes and sence which they had there of the admitting of the Portugall ambass<sup>r</sup> to audience att London hath retarded and doth still the Baron de Batteuille,<sup>a</sup> who was yet att the seaside the 6 of this present. As for the Prince of Ligny<sup>b</sup> you see cause enough already to belieue (as y<sup>e</sup> trueth is) that his employment is meerely complemental and that hee hath no manner of power or commission to treat of busines. And so in extremity of haste I kiss your hands and remaine

Your Honors most humble servant,  
DE VIC.

You heare how Grand Varadin is taken in by the Turkes. The English fleete is come to Heluet Sluys.

Brux: this Saturday morning, 26 of Sept. 1660.

I haue verry greatt reason to desire that this letter may bee kept secrett and it concerns his Ma<sup>ty</sup> too; otherwise it is verry probable, if the French should know it, they will tell it againe to the Spaniard and so by concert they will juggle us betweene them, besides that I shall not bee able to know any more from the same person, who may acquaint mee with things of moment.

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<sup>a</sup> Charles de Batteville, Spanish Ambassador to England.

Claude Lamoral de Ligne, Prince de Ligne, Spanish Ambassador Extraordinary to England.

SIR H. DE VIC.

1660.

RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup>,

While mine owne mourning<sup>a</sup> and that of my seruants is making I doe remaine as a prisoner, and so haue nothing to aduertise your Ho<sup>r</sup> of but that yesternight Sr Robert Welch<sup>b</sup> came to see mee with as an ill accompt as I alwayes expected of his vndertaking, telling mee the bird was escapd and flowne towards Hamborough before hee could catch him, that hee was going this morning towards Ghendt to bee out of the reach of his creditors in this towne and to see what hee could make of his wifes estate lying about Furne and Berghe St Winox, which in time of peace (as now) hee pretends to bee of consideration. In the discourse I had with him I founde hee was of opinion that the army wold not suffer itself so easily to bee disbanded, and I am afraide that his offer hath beene only to gett some letters from mee which may pass for credentialls of his being not only reconcild, but employd in his Ma<sup>ty</sup>s seruice, vnder which pretence hee may bee trusted so farr as to haue occasion therby to act unsuspected something not only not answerable but contrary vnto his professions of greate affection to his Ma<sup>ty</sup>s seruice. And wheras in his first letter to mee hee pretended that my Lo: Chancelor was become his very good friende, hee told mee now that his friends by whome hee had written to his Lo<sup>p</sup> had not founde conuenient so much as to deliuer his letter; so that it appeares to mee that hee driues still his old trade, wherin that hee may get as little aduantage and meanes as may bee to desserue his Ma<sup>ty</sup> by the way and countenance of my signifying to him (upon the order I receiud therin) that hee should doe his Ma<sup>ty</sup> acceptable seruice if hee did performe what hee vndertooke, I haue thought fitt not only to aduertise your Ho<sup>r</sup> of his carriadg in it but haue

f. 194.

<sup>a</sup> For Henry, Duke of Gloucester, who died of small-pox 10 Sept.

<sup>b</sup> Walsh or Welsh (vol. ii, p. 256). Clarendon speaks of him as "a person too well known to be trusted" (*History*, xi. p. 128). The "bird" was John Lisle, the regicide (above, p. 233).

1660.      writen also this morning to the Deputy Gouuernors of Dunkerke that, in case of his appearing there and producing of my letters, they should bee so farr from confiding the more in him as they should rather consider him as one who only gott credit by some offer made by him to doe some service hee thought wold bee pl[e]asing to the Kinge, the which hee hath not performed, wherby his credit as to any thing besides what hee vndertooke (for any thing I know) ceaseth with his failing of performance in it.

Your Honors most humble servant,  
DE VIC.

Brux. : this 5 Octob. 1660,  
att night.

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SIR H. DE VIC.

RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup>,

- f. 200.      I doe now receiue yours of the 28 Sept. and in consequence of what I had formerly writen vnto your Hor concerning Sr Robert Welsh I haue taken the occasion of Sr Robert Harleys sending a captaine to mee to lett him know by that captaine that what I wrote lately to the then Deputy Gouuernors att Dunkerke in generall termes is appliable to the saide Sr Rob. Walsh, whome concerning I haue giuen sufficient precautions to preuent surprisalls. The saide captaine came yesterday to mee, and I haue detaind him all this day, if possible I can by to morrow morning procure an order to bee sente by him to the Gouuernors of the neighbor places of Dunkerke to permitt the free importation of all necessary prouisions, for, although the Marquis doth assure mee that the same is giuen already, it is the same thing not to bee att all as not to appeare to bee, especially as things stand betweene vs in that particular. But as for freedome of commerce it is a busines that doth require more discussion then to

bee resolud upon without some preuius examination of some particulars of consideration, wherin what these ministers doe alleadg to excuse it I hope to make it in parte the subiect of my next vnto you. I conceiue by what I haue heard and now seene of Sr Rob. Harley in his letter to mee that hee is a person of a gallant spiritt, and I hope that his moderation in a charge that requires some phlegme in the chiefe commander will answere his courage; for truely, if I am not much mistaken, the Spaniards incline to a greater compliance then I haue yet seene them haue for and with us, these ministers att the least, and in token of it, because that the placard lately sett out touching the cessation of all acts of hostility betweene us and them did not extend thoroughly to the restabishment of a full peace betweene the two Crownes, the Marquis de Caracene hath giuen order that a new one shall bee made upon the foote of that which was published in Spayne, which comprehends in it the Treatie of 1630.

I haue had the good fortune to meete with a person of quality and of particular credit with the Comte of Fuensaldane, newly come from Paris, who tells mee the Comte hath more then once spoken to him in priuate of the greate conueniency and aduantage it wold bee that there were a mariadge betweene the Kinge and the Infanta, and the Emperor and our Princess att Paris. That which I wrote to your Hor in one of my last concerning the Princess I beleeeue is meant of this, that is of the Emperor, and that before it bee longe you will heare of it, if not already. And as for the other, I shall now aduenture to tell you that it is now att the least three moneths since the Marquis de Caracene told mee in confidence that, hauing understood that there was a speech att Breda (whilst his Mat<sup>ty</sup> was there) of a match betweene his Mat<sup>ty</sup> and the Infanta, hee had writen of it into Spayne (though hee knew it was but a rumor) and, to giue more weight vnto it, that his Mat<sup>ty</sup> in a visitt hee had giuen some little time before to his lady (the Marquess) upon some discourses of the

1660. Infanta had asked how old shee was. And so I kiss your Ho<sup>rs</sup> hands and remaine

Your Honors most humble servant,  
DE VIC.

As the Prince of Ligny hath uery greate reason to bee satisfied with his treatment, so hee hath donne uery greate right to his Ma<sup>ty</sup> in the particular accompt hee hath giuen of it.

Brux. : this 12 Octob. 1660.

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SIR H. DE VIC.

RIGHT HO<sup>ble</sup>,

f. 202.

It is not for curiosities sake but to know how to gouuern my self I desire that you wold informe mee how you doe dispose of the dispatches. I doe write vnto you, I meane to whome you impart them, if to the Kinge alone or to others of the Counsell and who they are. In the meantime I make you this particular letter to acquaint your Ho<sup>r</sup> that, finding the person of Capt<sup>ne</sup> Guy of more then a common capacity and affection to his Ma<sup>ty</sup>s seruice, I haue taken particular informacion from him of the present state at Dunkerke, I meane of the inclinations of the officers and souldiers in it, of which I shall entertaine you in a time of greater leisure then I haue att this present. One thing (mee thinkes of importance) I thought in the meane time uery fitt to aduertise you of as which wold not bee neglected, which is the want of good orthodox ministers, there being not one in that place but is a whining puritanicall tubb preacher at most. Of the officers of that cutt I haue their characters of all of them; but, knowing how tenderly that string is so toucht in a body of that composition and whose gouernor you know better then I, therefore I wold propose for the present that some one orthodox honest able minister might bee sent thither, which might bee donne thus. There is one Colonel Alsop who hath serud against

the King but by accident and meerly for interest, being a souldier of fortune. Hee is absolutely the best officer there and, as I doe heare, hath a part[icular] attention to his Mat<sup>ys</sup> interests and service. In his Regiment there is a place of a chaplaine uacant, which to fill one of the brethren hauing presented himself or beene presented, hee knowing him to bee such refusd to haue him pass muster, wherby that place is still vacant. If therfore his Mat<sup>y</sup> did like of it, some good able man, but not much noted, wold bee sent thither, but ordred to goe as from himself and to offer his service to Colonel Alsopp, but hee must bee withall a uery discrete person and seeme not to bee what hee is; by which meanes and by his good preaching hee wold draw all the garrison to bee his auditors and doe very much that way to new moule them, of which they haue uery greate neede. And really it is worthy of pittie and commiseration that not so much as the sacraments are administred there, and it is not aboue 3 weekes since they haue begunn to use the Lords prayer, which now they doe and pray for y<sup>e</sup> Kinge. I send you here also an extract out [of] a letter I haue receiud out of Holland, by which you will see how the affaires stand there of the Prince of Orange; but for Gods sake lett it not bee knowne that it comes from mee, or rather lett none but the Kinge bee acquainted with it for reasons I neede not tell you, and I pray you againe that it may bee so.

1660.

*Unsigned, but in De Vic's hand.*

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COUNTESS OF SUSSEX.<sup>a</sup>

SIR,

'Tis true my lord did buy sume of the Kinges pictures which weare att Somersett Howse and as true that his desinge in purchasseinge of them was to presarue them for his Mat<sup>tye</sup>, which he

f. 225.

<sup>a</sup> Anne, daughter of Christopher Villiers, 1st Earl of Anglesey, and wife (1640) of Thomas Savile, Viscount Savile, created Earl of Sussex, 1644. Her husband died in 1659, and was succeeded by his son James, born in 1649.

1660. often declared to mee, otherwayse, though hee was my husband and consequently I confess mought haue ouerruled mee, yett I should not haue suffered them to haue bine brought into the howse wheare I was to haue liued without makeing sune obstruction. But really theare needed none; for to doe him right, I myselfe, whose family has euer bine oblidge to show alegiens to the Kinge, could not haue exprest more loyellty then hee did when his last breath was neare expiringe, insomuch as hee cawld for his son and charged him, as he would ansewre it at the dredfull day of judgment, to bee true to his Kinge, which principells I hope are soe well grownded in him as I neede not doubt but, if hee weare of age, hee would puntually obsarue his fathers last commands. For as junge as he is, as farr ass his capacity will reach, hee makes it his buisnes to make apeare his affection and obedience to the Kinge, which if hee did not, as well as I loue him, I should disowne him. And in order to the giueinge of the Kinge satisfaction and to confirme his Mat<sup>y</sup> in the beleefe that I and mine weare his very humble saruants and faithfull subiects, I desired my brother Anglesey to presentt our dutise to him and to lett him know that those thinges att Howley which weare his Mat<sup>ties</sup> weare all redy for him and the whole estate too, whensoever hee should bee pleased to command it. Which makes me presume to say that the proclamation needed not to haue bine sentt to mee, for I conceaue itt consarnes none but such as needs thretninge, which number I should bee lothe to bee included in. Butt I feare my saruants ignorance causess this mistake, for otherwayse I am confident the pictures had all bine sentt to London before this, for I did not only desire Mr. Weston<sup>a</sup> my father in law to doe me the fauor to send for them, but I sentt orders into the country to haue them all speedily sentt to White Hall, and till I receaued your letter I knew no-thinge to the contrary. But to excuse theare faillings I must

<sup>a</sup> Benjamin Weston, who married Elizabeth, widow of the 1st Earl of Anglesey.

needes say sumthinge, which is that upon my honner, if I weare theare my selfe, I could not be able to say which weare the Kings; thearfore I humbly beg of his Ma<sup>tye</sup> to be soe gracious to me as to send sume of the informers downe to my howse with a possitiue command to take whatsoeuer thay thinke weare his, for soe farr am I from desireinge to conceale them as I doe protest I had rather loose all my fortune and beg my bred then haue the Kinge harbor such an opinion of me. Noe, Sir, had I had unworthy ends, I mought since the death of my lord haue had the mony which they cost him and haue paide the debt which was contracted when they weare purchased, which I now pay use for. But I skorned itt, though I was uery much importuned to itt by many, and shall euer abhorre the thought of anythinge that may render me ungratefull to our late worthy Kinge or any of his posterity. And this I doe desire you to aquaint his Ma<sup>tye</sup> with, and you will infinitely oblidge, Sir,

1660.

Your very humble saruant,

A. SUSSEX.

Blois, Octo. 28<sup>th</sup>, S.N., 1660.

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SIR SAMUEL MORLAND.<sup>a</sup>

RIGHT HON<sup>ble</sup>,

As your great civility in presenting my last petition to His Majesty obliges me to returne your Hon<sup>r</sup> my most humble thanks, so dos His Majestys answer thereto giue mee occasion to beleue

f. 279.

<sup>a</sup> Late Assistant Secretary of State under Thurloe, when he proved useful to the Royalist cause by revealing the traitorous practices of Sir R. Willis and by sending other information. He went with Whitelocke's embassy to Sweden in 1653, and as Cromwell's envoy to the Duke of Savoy about the Vaudois persecutions in 1655, and after his return in 1656 published the *History of the Evangelical Churches of the Valleys of Piedmont*, 1658. He was favourably received by Charles at Breda in May, 1660, and was created a baronet 18 July, with a pension of £500. He is, however, best known for his great ability as a mathematician, engineer, and inventor. See Burnet, *History*, ed. Airy, i. p. 119, and *Dict. Nat. Biogr.*

1660.

that I am now at an end of my hopes and feares. And, indeed, its but charity after so many months languishing expectation to let mee bee so ; for euer since the Kings returne into England my thoughts haue day and night endured a perpetuall martyrdome while I haue been musing what enemy should haue don mee so great a mischeif by any false accusations, or how I should so farr merit his Maj<sup>ties</sup> displeasure, as after his privat and publick owning my poor services and after so many large promises of honorable, profitable and exemplary preferments to see my selfe so much forgotten and layd aside as a uselesse thing and out of date, without either any considerable employment, which was so absolutely necessary for y<sup>e</sup> bearing up my reputation against the calumnies of so many malicious adversaries, or any foundation of a fortune for the making a reasonable provision for my wife and family, and yet in the meane time to see both great employments and honorable titles conferred vpon diuers who haue been open and mischeiuous enemyes and others who haue then served his Maj<sup>ty</sup> when they had no other way left them of seruing or sauing themselues.

Vpon my first sending ouer Sr Rich. Willis originall letters His Maj<sup>ty</sup> was pleased to send mee a letter written and signed with his own hand and sealed with his own hand, wherein hee thought fitt to honor my dutifull endeavours with y<sup>e</sup> character of *eminent services*<sup>a</sup> and in y<sup>e</sup> sequell thereof to use the following expressions (which with secrecy I communicate to you) viz., *I shall not onely giue you the Garter but something else with it to make you weare it with more delight*, which notwithstanding, I call God and angells to witnesse, was neuer a thing of my first seeking or propounding. This letter with another of the like nature I sent for better surety to my wiues<sup>b</sup> father in Normandy, who, hearing of my fauourable reception at Breda, did out of joy without my consent or knowledg communicat y<sup>e</sup> same to his

<sup>a</sup> Words in italics are underlined in the original.

<sup>b</sup> Morland married in 1657 Susanne, daughter of Daniel de Milleville, Baron de Boissay, in Normandy.

1660.

brother Monsieur de L' Ambrun, Mr. D'Omal Hautcour his cosin, and diuers other persons of great quality in France, and some copies of y<sup>e</sup> letters were taken, as one of my wiues brothers, who is a few days since arriued with mee, has confessed. But vpon my arriuall at Breda my Lord Chancellor advised mee by the mouth of Mr. Henry Howard to deliuer back y<sup>e</sup> abouesaid letter to y<sup>e</sup> King, which accordingly I haue since don. The same person who brought mee that letter (by name Maj<sup>r</sup> Henshaw) did at y<sup>e</sup> same time bring mee a most formall message by word of mouth from both the King and my Lord Chancellor, that among diuers other preferments the second or Under-Secretary of State's place would bee reserued for and assured to mee, which being a preferment so suitable to my education, and for which I had endured so hard an apprenticeship, I must confesse my ambition. I did rely vpon it till such time as I saw it (to my great discouragment) bestowed, not vpon any ancient suffering servant of his Majesty, but vpon one whom I humbly conceiue had neuer run the hazard I had don or was more versed in those affayres then I had been.

After that time I began to correct my ambitious thoughts and to sollicit amongst the crowd (which I neuer could beleieue I should haue been put to) for lower things, as by name for Master of Requests, a lease of the mannor of Worseworth<sup>a</sup> (which were then undisposed), and diuers other things, but always found euen to this day my sollicitations to returne without successe; and, which does something stick with mee, my Lord Chancellor, who formerly corresponded with mee, and to whome I disclosed so nakedly and openly my thoughts and gaue an account of my selfe from my cradle, and in whose power it was, I am fully confident, with a word speaking to haue don my businesse, and, which is more, who made mee many serious and solemne promises, while hee was yet in his low estate, that the King should no sooner bee restored to his throne then I should *reape the fruits of all my labours and find my fortune contriued to my full*

<sup>a</sup> Wirksworth, co. Derby.

1660. *content and utmost satisfaction*, with a multitude of other like expressions, and yet, now being in his greatnesse, hee has much adoe to know mee when hee sees mee, or after 5 or 6 houres at his doore to vouchsafe mee a minutes audience, and that so fruitlesse and ineffectuall that I had rather quitt my hopes then giue his Lordship further trouble about my own privat concernes.

In summe both my wiues relations from abroad and my own at home weary mee with their dayly enquiryes how it comes to passe that my shining sun is thus set in a cloud and that so fayr hopes are so soon vanished; and I begin to wish that I had contented myselfe to haue discharged a good conscience in serving my soueraign according to my duty and allegiance without hauing y<sup>e</sup> vanity of appearing publickly, and so should I haue found, I hope, a comfortable subsistance as a privat gentleman among my freinds and been freed from this great anxiety of mind. I cannot conceale from you how much it greiues mee that I am thus disabled to prouide for a poor woman, who in y<sup>e</sup> worst of times and most daingerous out of hir great affection to His Maj<sup>ties</sup> service chose rather to hazard hir life with mee therein then to entice mee (as many others would haue done) to go and liue with an uncle of hers in France, who at that time wanting an issue offered hir to make her his heire of all hee had, which was not less then ten thousand pound, all which hopes are now irrecoverably frustrated.

And here in the close of all I beseech your Hon<sup>r</sup> not to mistake me, as if I did at all repent of what service I had don. No! I do assure you, so farr am I from any such thoughts that, had I a thousand liues and y<sup>e</sup> greatest fortune in y<sup>e</sup> world, I would hazard all a thousand times ouer, if the occasions which (blest bee God) are now past were yet to come. And if it can euer bee prooued, since I first engaged in His Maj<sup>ties</sup> service that I haue concealed one tittle of all I knew (His Maj<sup>ty</sup> knows what papers I haue brought him since his returne into England, which, I may tell you, I had tempting ouertures from y<sup>e</sup> person interested to

haue smothered and neuer brought to light), then let mee dy an hundred deaths. But if on y<sup>e</sup> contrary, then I pray God I may bee the last young man who, after hee has faithfully served his Prince in his own countrey with such eminent hazard of his life and a thousand tortures with y<sup>e</sup> neglect of all his own concernes, shall bee constrained (as I shortly must bee) to seek both an employment and a fortune in a forraign countrey. Howeuer it bee, I shall, while I liue, pray for the prosperity of His Maj<sup>ty</sup> and his royall family. And for your particular I shall always reserue a gratefull remembrance of all your fauours and kindnesses and, when euer any occasion shall present it selfe, shall with all my might acquitt my selfe, Right Hon<sup>ble</sup>,

Your Honors most humble  
and most affectionat servant,  
S. MORLAND.

14<sup>th</sup> of November, 1660.

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IGNATIUS WHITE.

RIGHT HONOURABLE SIR,

When I came first out of Flanders I did not faile to pay my respects to your honour, but by something that you were pleas'd then to say to me I had but litle encouragement to returne till you had first such an account of my actions and proceedings as would remoue the sentiment I perceiued you had of me. If your honour were pleas'd to conferr with my Lord Steward or with my Lord Chancellor or with yong Mr. Belings, I am perswaded you will be better satisfied with my carriage. Sir, I was neuer a pensioner to any of the vsurped gouernments that appear'd in this nation in his Maiesties absence, wheras I might haue had considerable aduantages from them, if I had undertaken to serue them. The truth of this doth appeare by Mr Scots and Mr Thur-

1660.

1660. loes attestations, which I haue inserted in the vindication,<sup>a</sup> the originals being in Sir George Lane's hands. The great affection I haue euer had to his Maiesties sacred person and the horreur I always conceiued against those vsurpers haue kept me from engaging myselfe in their seruice. The common reports rais'd by the malice of som and ignorance of others haue done me great iniuries, from which I endeauour to vindicat myselfe by these leafes, the publication wherof is occasioned by a false relation of the taking of Mr Scot printed by one Comes, wherein he speaks to y<sup>e</sup> preiudice of truth and of my honour. I shew authentically that I haue intended and I myselfe alone haue performed (to my great charges and with danger of my life) that service to his Maiestie. I humbly begg the fauour of your honour to read ouer these few leafes and to hear what I can say in my vindication, notwithstanding all the informations you haue had of me, and then by hearing what I say (though I doe not say herin all that I am able to say) and what you haue heard allready of others your honour will be the more able to iudge of my guilt or innocencie.

Sir, you haue a generall reputation to be a person of great honour, iustice and honestie, which encourages me to reiterat my adresses to you, being always ambitious to be knowen to such persons and to be of the number of

Your honours  
 admirers and most humble seruants,  
 IGNATIUS WHYTE.

London, this 19th of Nouemb. 1660.

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<sup>a</sup> The pamphlet mentioned above, p. 213, note. This letter gives the approximate date of its publication.

## APPENDIX.

### DECLARATION BY CHARLES II. AGAINST DUELS.

His Matys declaration against duells ; published in his Matys chappell upon Sunday, the 24th of November, 1658.

Eg. 2542.  
f. 278.

His Maty declares that, if any servant of his or any other of his good subjects shall from henceforth fight any duel with or send carry or receive any challenge or appointment of duell from any servant or any of his good subjects, every such person or persons shall forfeit his or their places or employments in his Matys service and not presume to come into his Matys presence or into his court, and shall be for ever incapable of holding any office or employment under his Matie. And whosoever shall know of any such challenge sent or received is hereby obliged presently to give notice thereof to his Matie or to one of his Privy Councell under the penalty before expressed. And his Matie further declares that he will be so farr from interposing in his or their behalf or endeavouring to protect him or them so offending from the justice of the country where the offence shall be committed that he will be very glad and desirous that no favour may be extended towards them, but that the laws may be put in execution with all severity.

And to the end that all men may at their perill take notice of this his Maties pleasure, his Matie appoints that order be read in the pulpit the next Sunday after sermon shall be ended. And the Gentleman-Vsher dayly wayter is by his command likewise to cause this to be read in ye Presence Chamber three severall dayes at such howers as he shall finde most convenient for the publication thereof.

Given at ye Court at Bruxelles the 20th day of November, 1658, in the tenth year of his Matys raigne.

*In the hand of John Nicholas.*

MONEY RECEIVED BY CHARLES II. FROM SPAIN,  
AUGUST, 1656-NOVEMBER, 1658.

Eg. 2542,  
f. 279.

Compte de l'argent que a esté receu sur l'assistance que sa Maté Catholique donne au Roy par mois depuis l'arriué de sa Maté en Flandres jusques au premier jour du present mois de Decembre, 1658.

Sa Maté arriua en ce pais au mois de Mars, 1656, mais l'assistance ne commença qu'au mois d'Aoust suiuant.

|  |                  |
|--|------------------|
| Receu pour le dit mois et le mois de Septembre . . . . .   | Florins<br>15000 |
| Receu par anticipation au mois d'Octobre, 1656, les mois de<br>Januier, Feurier et Mars de l'an 1657 pour payer les dettes<br>de sa Maté a Cologne . . . . . | 22500            |
| Receu pour le mois d'Octobre, 1656, au mois de Novembre,<br>1656 . . . . .   | 07500            |
| Receu pour le mois de Novembre, 1656, en Decembre, 1656 . . . . .  | 07500            |
| Receu pour Decembre, 1656, au mois de Mars, 1657 . . . . .   | 07500            |
| Receu au mois de Januier, 1658, de Monsr Mottet . . . . .  | 29000            |
| En Avril, 1658, de Mr le Pagador General . . . . .   | 05000            |
| Au mois de May, 1658, de Monr Monchau . . . . .  | 15000            |
| Au mois de Juin, 1658, de Mr de Villaviciosa . . . . .   | 24000            |
| En Sept., 1658, de Mr de Niawere . . . . .   | 12000            |

La dite somme de 85000 [florins] paye onze mois de l'assistance que sa Maté Catholique donne au Roy, viz. Avril-Decembre (1657), Januier, Feurier (1658), et il restera encore de surplus 2500 florins.

Si bien que l'arrerage deub sur l'assistance que sa Maté donne au Roy le dernier jour de Novembre, 1658, monte a 65000 florins.

*Endorsed by John Nicholas, An account what moneys the King hath received of the King of Spaine till the last of November, 1658.*

SIR E. NICHOLAS TO COL. GERVASE HOLLES.<sup>a</sup>

SIR,

Bruxelles, Wensday, 1<sup>st</sup> Junii, 1659.

I had before paid you my acknowledgements for your favour of the 27<sup>th</sup> of May,<sup>b</sup> but that I have bene partly busy, and was in hope every

<sup>a</sup> From the original in the library of the Marquis of Bath at Longleat (*Historical MSS. Commission, Third Report*, 1872, p. 195).

See above, p. 141.

day to have some good newes from England to have cheered you withall, for from these partes I expect little good untill the peace betweene the 2 crownes (which is most certainly concluded) shal be published and proclaymed. I am of your opinion that, notwithstanding the jarrings and murmurings among the Rebells in England, they will not fall to blowes against each other; they every day endeavour to supplant one anothers faction, but they will not fight, knowing their danger if they should. Our last letters say that the common soldiers in England begin to grow soe highe there and soe insolent as they are formidable to, and much courted by, both the members of Parliament and their Superior Officers; and some are of opinion that the Parliament will be broken before the end of this month. The new Governors in England have lately casshied about 60 Officers of the Army (which they are new modelling) and restored diverse Levellers and expulsd Quakers, to make it a Godly Army. Lockert (the governor of Dunkerke) is att London and seemes willing to submitt his charge to the Parliament. Noe Minister from any Power or State hath hitherto congratulated the new and unsettled Government in England, but only Monsr Nieuport, the States Ambassador in England. The French Ambassador is there and so are the Venetian and Denmark Ambassadors, but none of them have bene soe base as to congratulate the rump of the old Parliament, which the Dutch Ambassador hath kissed. We heare nothing of the English Fleete under Montague, nor have they in England heard from him since their deposing of Richard Cromwell, soe as they apprehend he may not pay them that obedience they expect from him. Ri. Cromwell hath left Whitehall, and remaynes now in the house-keepers Lodgings att Hampton Court without being permitted to lodge in the Courte itselfe. The Earl of Warwick is lately dead, and now Cha. Ritch is Ea. of Warwick, being as vertuous and loyall a man as his grandfather, the old Rebell Warwick. I wishe you may heare from your freinds to your contentment by Jo. Warner and that it lay in my power to serve you as is much desired by, Sir,

Your most humble servant,

EDW. NICHOLAS.

*Address:* For my honoured friend  
Collonell Gervas Hollis  
these.

## CHARLES II.

Instruccions for Our Deere Brother Henry, Duke of Gloucester.<sup>a</sup>

1659.  
Eg. 2542,  
f. 295.

Whereas vpon our conference and comunicacion together it is resolved that you shall contynue and make your residence in Bruxelles for the better continuance and carrying on our busines with those ministers, wee doe in the first place appoint those of our Privy Councell to attend vpon you, and vpon the receipt of all letters to informe you of all thinges that may serve or advance our service.

You shall vpon all occasions send such orders to our troopes in this country as you shall finde necessary, the officers wherof we require to yeeld their obedience therevnto.

You will vse all your interest with the Marquis of Caracena for the procuring of those moneys which are due to vs, to the end that our good debts in this towne and elsewhere may be paid and our servants releevd.

Wee have informed you of the messenger and letters we have sent to the English fleete in the Sound and what wee have offered them, and if therevpon the fleete or a considerable parte thereof shall declare for vs or apply themselves to our service, you will vpon consultacion with those of our Privy Councell send such persons to them as shalbe fitt, and, beinge first assured of their fidelities and abillities to serve vs, wee are willing, if you find it reasonable, that you pursue the same resolution wee ourself have declared to be our purpose and that in such a case you put your owne person aboard them, if they shall desire it or if you find it the most probable way to advance our service, and in that case you will make towards such a porte in England as may be fittest for your recepcion and most likely to advance our service.

You shall require all our servants to live orderly and regularly there, and that none of them shall departe without your leave especially in order to their going into England, which you will not consent to vntill you are well assured that ourself is gone over, which as soone as you shall know, you shall then give leave to those whose presence there is most like to be for our service, especially for good officers, to whom you shall give the best assistance you may for their getting to vs.

<sup>a</sup> These instructions were given when Charles and the Duke of York were about to cross over to England in the event of the success of the projected royalist rising in the West. See above, p. 174.

As soone as you are assured that wee are gon over wee wishe you would apply yourself to the Marquis of Caracena and any other ministers who have there authority that they will speedily take care to have reddey such quantities of armes and ammunicion as they may be disposed to supply vs with, and to have such vessells in reddines for the transportacion thereof as shalbe necessary against the tyme they shall have notice in what porte to deliver them, but if preparacions be not made vntil they doe know that place, much tyme will be lost.

*Draft by Sir E. Nicholas, partly in shorthand; endorsed, Copy of the Kings instruccions left with the D. of Glo. at Bruxells, 12<sup>o</sup> Augusti (corrected from Julii), 1659.*

1659.

## ORDER IN COUNCIL FOR PEACE WITH SPAIN.

At the Court at Whitehall, the third day of August, 1660.

*Present :—*

The Kings most Excellent Matie.

|  |                        |
|--|------------------------|
| His Royall Highness the Duke of Yorke. | Lord Chancellor.       |
| Duke of Albemarle, Lord Genll.         | Lord Great Chamberlin. |
| Lord Steward.                          | Lord Chamberlin.       |
| Earle of Southampton.                  | Earle of Berkshire.    |
| Lord Viscount Say and Seale.           | Lord Wentworth.        |
| Lord Roberts.                          | Mr Denzell Holles.     |
| Mr Comptroller.                        | Mr Secretary Nicholas. |
| Mr Secretary Morice.                   | Mr Arthur Annesley.    |
| Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper.             | Coll Charles Howard.   |

1660.  
Eg. 2542.  
f. 400.

Vpon reading of a letter to his Matie from Don Lewis de Haro dated at Madrid the Twentieth of July signifyinge the great joy the Kinge of Spain and hee Don Lewis de Haro in his particuler had vpon the newes of his Maties happy establishment vpon his throne; and that the King of Spain had thereupon sent his orders into all his dominions commaunding an intire cessation from all hostility between his Maties subjects and those of the Kinge of Spain's; and further proposed that a certain day might bee agreed vpon for the publicacion of this cessation of hostility by both Kings. It was resolued (his Matie being present) that the  $\frac{1}{10}$ th of September next should bee the day appointed for the mutuall and reciprocall publicacion of this cessation of hostility between the two Kings; whereof Mr Secretary Nicholas is to giue timely notice vnto Sir Henry Bennet.

1660.

And his Royall Highnesse the Duke of Yorke, Lord high Admirall of England, is to send forth his orders to all commaunders at sea to take notice of this cessation of hostility between the two crownes and to yeild all due obseruance to the same. Ordered hereupon that Mr Attorney Generall doe forthwith prepare a Proclamation signifying this cessation of hostility both by sea and land between his Matie and the King of Spain, as well on this side as beyond the lyne, to commence from the tyme of his Maties happy arriuall in his Kingdome (which was on the fve and twentieth of May last); And that all prisoners, shippes, goods, merchandize or whatsoeuer els taken vpon one another by the subiects of eyther of the two Kings since the said tyme of his Maties arriuall bee vpon due prooffe thereof mutually restored.

RICHARD BROWNE.

*Original, with Privy Council Seal.*

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